

# FINANCIAL TIMES

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World Business Newspaper

MONDAY APRIL 10 1995

DB523A

## Gaza bomb attacks raise doubts over peace timetable

Two suicide bomb attacks, which killed seven people and wounded 45 in the Gaza Strip yesterday, raised fresh doubts over whether Israel would honour the July 1 deadline for Palestinian elections and for redeployment of its forces from West Bank Arab towns and villages. The militant Moslem groups Islamic Jihad and Hamas claimed responsibility for the bombings, which took place near two isolated Jewish settlements south of Gaza city. Page 5

**Fund in Pioneer in Russia:** US fund management group Pioneer Investments is the first foreign investor to buy a majority stake in one of Russia's biggest investment funds. Page 16; Editorial Comment, Page 15

**Serbs accused of using banned weapons:** The UN accuses besieging Serbs of targeting civilian areas of Sarajevo with banned weapons in a further spiral of tension and violence in the Bosnian capital. As fighting continued, Sarajevo airport was closed after Serb forces refused to guarantee the safety of humanitarian flights.

**Credit Lyonnais:** is to restructure some of its European retail banking operations outside France to move away from personal lending and concentrate on gathering deposits. Page 17

**UK Tories hit by new sex scandal:** John Major's Conservative relaunch suffered a severe setback as another senior MP was forced to resign after allegations of sexual impropriety. Page 16

**Clinton attacks tax cuts:** The Clinton administration began its counter-attack on the first 100 days of the Republican-controlled Congress by strongly implying that the president would veto tax cuts passed by the House of Representatives last week. Page 4; Michael Prowse, Page 14

**Telecoms liberalisation:** Countries in eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union should increase efforts to introduce competing telecoms services as a vital element in moving to a free market economy and speeding growth, a senior executive at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, said. Page 2; Bank exploits 'feel good' factor, Page 2

**Transatlantic air talks reviewed:** US and UK negotiators meet today in a renewed attempt to agree on airport access. Page 4; Business Travel, Page 10

**National Grid:** operator of the power transmission system in England and Wales, is expected to be confirmed this week as Pakistan's choice to lead a \$400m (\$640m) project to build, own and maintain a 1,440km transmission line. Page 8

**Taiwan seeks dialogue with China:** Taiwan's president Lee Teng-hui called at the weekend for formal talks to end more than four decades of hostilities between Taipei and Beijing, but said China must first renounce the threat of force against the island it views as a renegade province. Page 6

**Mussolini's daughter dies:** Edda Mussolini Ciano, daughter of Italy's wartime Fascist dictator, died in Rome aged 86. Ciano, eldest of Benito Mussolini's five children, was widow of playboy count and politician Galeazzo Ciano, who was executed by her father's regime in 1944 for treason.

**Overhaul urged for UK trade watchdogs:** A prominent committee of British MPs is to recommend that the Office of Fair Trading and the Monopolies and Mergers Commission be overhauled. Page 16

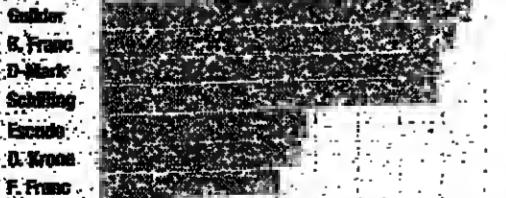
**Narrow win for Iceland coalition:** Iceland's ruling coalition between the conservative Independence party and the Social Democrats clung to its majority in parliament, winning a combined 32 of 63 seats in yesterday's election. Page 3

**Le Pen supporters arrested:** French police arrested two members of presidential candidate Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front party for injuring a man in the latest of a string of violent electoral incidents involving the extreme right-wing party. Balladur hacker stresses patriotism, Page 3; Editorial Comment, Page 15

**Liechtenstein to join EEA:** Liechtenstein, the tiny Alpine principality with a population of 30,000, voted to join the 17-member European Economic Area, which links the 15-national European Union with Iceland and Norway.

**European Monetary System:** Tensions in the EMS eased further last week as currencies took advantage of the breathing space offered by the recent cut in German interest rates. The main beneficiary was the Spanish peseta, which climbed above the Irish punt in the grid. The punt is suffering from its close links to sterling, which remains very weak. Currencies, Page 31; Lex, Page 16

**EMS: Grid**



The chart shows the member currencies of the exchange rate mechanism measured against the weakest currency in the system. Most of the currencies are permitted to fluctuate within 15 per cent of agreed central rates against the other members of the mechanism. The exceptions are the D-Mark and the guinea which move in a 2.25 per cent band.

Country	Code	Current	1994	1993	1992	1991	1990	1989	1988	1987	1986	1985	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980	1979	1978	1977	1976	1975	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960	1959	1958	1957	1956	1955	1954	1953	1952	1951	1950	1949	1948	1947	1946	1945	1944	1943	1942	1941	1940	1939	1938	1937	1936	1935	1934	1933	1932	1931	1930	1929	1928	1927	1926	1925	1924	1923	1922	1921	1920	1919	1918	1917	1916	1915	1914	1913	1912	1911	1910	1909	1908	1907	1906	1905	1904	1903	1902	1901	1900	1999	1998	1997	1996	1995	1994	1993	1992	1991	1990	1989	1988	1987	1986	1985	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980	1979	1978	1977	1976	1975	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960	1959	1958	1957	1956	1955	1954	1953	1952	1951	1950	1949	1948	1947	1946	1945	1944	1943	1942	1941	1940	1939	1938	1937	1936	1935	1934	1933	1932	1931	1930	1929	1928	1927	1926	1925	1924	1923	1922	1921	1920	1919	1918	1917	1916	1915	1914	1913	1912	1911	1910	1909	1908	1907	1906	1905	1904	1903	1902	1901	1900	1999	1998	1997	1996	1995	1994	1993	1992	1991	1990	1989	1988	1987	1986	1985	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980	1979	1978	1977	1976	1975	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960	1959	1958	1957	1956	1955	1954	1953	1952	1951	1950	1949	1948	1947	1946	1945	1944	1943	1942	1941	1940	1939	1938	1937	1936	1935	1934	1933	1932	1931	1930	1929	1928	1927	1926	1925	1924	1923	1922	1921	1920	1919	1918	1917	1916	1915	1914	1913	1912	1911	1910	1909	1908	1907	1906	1905	1904	1903	1902	1901	1900	1999	1998	1997	1996	1995	1994	1993	1992	1991	1990	1989	1988	1987	1986	1985	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980	1979	1978	1977	1976	1975	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960	1959	1958	1957	1956	1955	1954	1953	1952	1951	1950	1949	1948	1947	1946	1945	1944	1943	1942	1941	1940	1939	1938	1937	1936	1935	1934	1933	1932	1931	1930	1929	1928	1927	1926	1925	1924	1923	1922	1921	1920	1919	1918	1917	1916	1915	1914	1913	1912	1911	1910	1909	1908	1907	1906	1905	1904	1903	1902	1901	1900	1999	1998	1997	1996	1995	1994	1993	1992	1991	1990	1989	1988	1987	1986	1985	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980	1979	1978	1977	1976	1975	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960	1959	1958	1957	1956	1955	1954	1953	1952	1951	1950	1949	1948	1947	1946	1945	1944	1943	1942	1941	1940	1939	1938	1937	1936	1935	1934	1933	1932	1931	1930	1929	1928	1927	1926	1925	1924	1923	1922	1921	1920	1919	1918	1917	1916	1915	1914	1913	1912	1911	1910	1909	1908	1907	1906	1905	1904	1903	1902	1901	1900	1999	1998	1997	1996	1995	1994	1993	1992	1991	1990	1989	1988	1987	1986	1985	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980	1979	1978	1977	1976	1975	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960	1959	1958	1957	1956	1955	1954	1953	1952	1951	1950	1949	1948	1947	1946	1945	1944	1943	1942	1941	1940	1939	1938	1937	1936	1935	1934	1933	1932	1931	1930	1929	1928	1927	1926	1925	1924	1923	1922	1921	1920	1919	1918	1917	1916	1915	1914	1913</

## NEWS: EUROPE

European Bank for Reconstruction and Development stresses trade-financing deals

## Bank exploits the 'feel-good' factor

By Anthony Robinson  
in London



This year's annual meeting of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) takes place in London against a background of booming international trade and export-led economic growth throughout former communist central Europe. It has been reflected in a new-found zeal for trade-enhancing deals at the institution set up four years ago to ease the transition from communism to capitalism.

The "feel-good factor" has not yet permeated as far east as Russia, Ukraine or central Asia. But as countries like Poland and the Czech Republic, the first to swallow the bitter medicine of economic restructuring, get back on their feet they are inspiring those further east to press ahead with their own delayed reforms and increase their penetration of foreign markets.

The annual meeting began on Saturday and ends tomorrow. At yesterday's special session on trade, senior bank officials confessed that the EBRD had been slow to realise the crucial importance of access to markets and free trade as a vital element in the transition process.

"It has taken two years for

the EBRD to get its trade policy through the board of directors," said Mr David Hexter, director for financial institutions.

"The bank was conceived as a project financing not a trade financing institution. It has taken a lot of time to overcome this prejudice and persuade the board that trade is essential to eastern europe," he added.

This importance was underlined last week by the UN's Economic Commission for Europe which reported that last year the former communist states raised exports of goods and services by 18 per cent, double the rate of increase of imports and reduced their collective current account deficit to \$3.4bn (£2.1bn) from \$8.3bn in 1993 when imports were strong and exports sluggish.

Poland performed well last year, with a 24 per cent rise in

Suranyi: Hungarian U-turn

exports. But Hungary remained saddled by an over-valued currency and bloated social security payments which depressed exports and sucked in imports to leave an unsustainable \$1.8bn trade deficit last year. Two months ago, however, the socialist-liberal coalition government led by Mr Gyula Horn performed a U-turn under the direction of Mr Gyorgy Suranyi, the reinstated monarchist governor of the Hungarian National Bank and Mr Lajos Bokros, an equally tough finance minister.

The new team moved fast to cut government spending, raise taxes, devalue the forint and introduce a "crawling peg" system which will lead to an expected 28 per cent devaluation of the currency in 1995

and underpin an export-led recovery which has begun.

Higher exports were the

principal factor in a double digit rise in industrial production in most central European states last year and signs of recovery in the Baltic and Balkan states.

With the World Trade Organisa-

tion forecasting an 8 per cent rise in global trade again this year the prospects for a further export-oriented boost to east European economies look good and the EBRD is belatedly pledging a stronger role in trade promoting deals of all kinds, including lobbying Brussels for freer access to the all important EU markets which now take 57 per cent of all exports from the region.

See Observer

## Telecom rivalry 'vital to growth'

By Peter Marsh in London

Countries in eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union should increase efforts to introduce competing telecommunications services as a vital element in moving to a free market economy and speeding growth, Mr Cliff Harrel head of the telecommunications group at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development said at the weekend.

Mr Harrel said that simple privatisation of former state-run telecoms operators in these countries might not be sufficient to take advantage of modern technologies and management methods. Separately, a report by EBRD officials said multinational institutions such as the Organisation for Eco-

nomic Co-operation and Development and the European Commission should step up their co-ordination of efforts to help former communist nations to develop independent telecom regulators.

According to the report just two countries - Hungary and Latvia - out of the 25 nations in eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union have set up telecoms regulators separate from government ministries to provide guidelines for new private sector operators providing telecoms services.

Mr Harrel said former communist bloc countries should avoid "formulaic approaches" for privatisation and competition in telecoms. He warned that although privatisation of government-run telecoms oper-

ators offered a quick route to bringing in private sector know-how, without the introduction of competing services this might lead to countries "storing up acute commercial problems for the future while retarding general economic development today."

Countries generally considered furthest ahead in the region in terms of introducing competition to telecoms services include Hungary, Latvia, Ukraine, Estonia, the Czech Republic and Poland. All these have either privatised or are planning to privatisate their main telecoms operators, or are introducing a significant element of free market competition in telecoms services. Mr Harrel said a strong regulatory climate was an essential ele-

ment of efforts to usher in competition.

The EBRD's report on telecoms regulation said: "The absence of an independent regulatory authority to establish the 'rules of the game', arbitrate disputes and generally determine the public interest is a danger signal to potential investors. It has been demonstrated many times over that investors are much more comfortable with privatisation offer [concerning a state-run telecoms operator] which involves an independent regulatory authority... than with an offer that features no regulation."

● *Telecommunications Regulatory Status Survey, final report, available from EBRD, no charge.*

## E Europe faces challenge on bank ownership

By Gillian Tett,  
Economics Staff

Finding experienced and honest people to run eastern Europe's emerging banks is now one of the biggest challenges facing the financial sector there. Mr Brian Quinn, an executive director of the Bank of England, warned yesterday.

Speaking at the EBRD annual conference, Mr Quinn said the rapid change in eastern Europe made it extremely difficult for bank

supervisors to judge the suitability of would-be bank owners. His comments reflect growing concern about the close ties between owners and clients in many of the new banks that have sprung up in eastern Europe - ties which may lead to imprudent lending and make it harder to detect criminal activity.

In line with the Bank of England's cautious stance, Mr Quinn refrained from pointing the finger at any particular country or banking group.

Nevertheless, he warned that the new class of entrepreneurial businessmen could present a particular problem for banking supervisors, because the mixture of close political contacts and business clout created a "potent combination" for supervisors. "Banking supervisors can face powerful pressure from individuals seeking to own banks," he added.

A separate indication of the problems that this rapid expansion was posing in terms of banking personnel came from Mr Jan Vit, vice-governor of the Czech national bank.

In the years since privatisation the number of employees in Czech banks has risen from 8,000 to 55,000, Mr Vit said. Meanwhile, a combination of inherited bad debts and imprudent lending since privatisation and other reforms means that about a third of the total loans held by Czech banks would probably have to be written off, Mr Vit noted.

Although there was now sufficient provision theoretically to cover these bad losses across the banking system, these bad debts left some small individual banks exposed, he warned.

Turkey argues that the responsibilities of the two Larissa commands must be defined before they are put into action; while Greece says activation should come first, and details worked out later.

"Turkey does not want Greece to play a role in NATO, and in doing so it is harming not only Greece but the whole of NATO," said Mr Arsenis.

Between two friendly countries, the definition of roles for the new commands would be a purely technical problem. But in this case, the issue is hard to settle without favouring one side or the other in much broader disputes.

These focus on Turkey's insistence that Greece is barred by treaties from militarising its eastern islands; and Greece's insistence on being the main co-ordinator of air traffic over the Aegean.

Mr Morali said Athens was using the 1992 decision to claim a "regional authority" to which it was not entitled.

He said Ankara regretted the disruption to NATO's activities that was being caused by the dispute. "Alliance work is being affected, we do not enjoy this," he said.

Mr Mehmet Golhan, the Turkish defence minister, signalled a toughening in Ankara's position last week.

Although there was now sufficient provision theoretically to cover these bad losses across the banking system, these bad debts left some small individual banks exposed, he warned.

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If the rainforests are being destroyed at the rate of thousands of trees a minute, how can planting just a handful of seedlings make a difference?

A WWF - World Wide Fund For Nature tree nursery addresses some of the problems facing people that can force them to chop down trees.

Where hunger or poverty is the underlying cause of deforestation, we can provide fruit trees.

The villagers of Mugunga, Zaire, for example, eat papaya and mangoes from WWF trees. And rather than having to sell timber to buy other food, they can now sell the surplus fruit their nursery produces.

Where trees are chopped down for firewood, WWF and the local people can protect them by planting fast-growing varieties to form a renewable fuel source.

This is particularly valuable in the Impenetrable Forest, Uganda, where indigenous hardwoods take two hundred years to mature. The *Markhamia lutea* trees planted by WWF and local villages can be harvested within five or six years of planting.

Where trees are chopped down to be used for construction, as in Panama and Pakistan, we supply other species that are fast-growing and easily replaced.

These tree nurseries are just part of the work we do with the people of the tropical forests.

WWF sponsors students from developing countries on an agroforestry course at UPAZ University in Costa Rica, where WWF provides technical advice on growing vegetable and grain crops.

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International Secretariat, 1196 Gland, Switzerland.



WWF World Wide Fund For Nature  
(formerly World Wildlife Fund)

Photo: John Neeley. Illustration: Steve Johnson. Design: Gillian Tett.

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## Iceland's coalition clings on to power

By Hugh Carnegy

Iceland's ruling coalition between the conservative Independence party and the Social Democrats at the weekend clung to its majority in the Althing, or parliament, winning a combined 22 of 63 seats. Prime Minister David Oddsson's Independence party, in power since 1991, dropped one seat to win 25. It saw its share of the vote slip to just over 37 per cent. But it was unchallenged as the biggest party and Mr Oddsson is set to remain as prime minister.

Its partner coalition partner, the Social Democratic party, Iceland's only political party advocating membership of the European Union, emerged as the main loser in Saturday's election, dropping to seven seats from 10. The SDP's share of the vote fell from 15.5 per cent in 1991 to 11.4 per cent.

But Mr Oddsson may opt for a new partnership with the rural-based Progressive party following the significant reverse of the Social Democrats.

The Progressive party, which like the Independence party opposes joining the EU because of Iceland's objections to the common fisheries policy, made

Party	1995	vote %	seats	1991	vote %	seats
Independence Party (conservative)	37.1	25	38.6	26		
Social Democratic Party	11.4	7	15.5	10		
Opposition Progressive Party	23.3	15	18.9	13		
Socialists	14.3	9	14.4	9		
People's Movement (moderate left)	7.2	4	—	—		
Women's Party	4.9	3	8.3	5		

Source: Reuter

strong gains. It won 23.3 per cent of the vote, an advance of more than four percentage points, adding two deputies to take 15 Althing seats and to consolidate its position as the second largest party.

Mr Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson, the foreign minister and SDP leader, was hoping his outspoken advocacy of EU membership would draw support to the party from young people and the business community.

He is concerned that Iceland will be left politically and economically isolated by the EU's planned expansion. But any gains from disgruntled pro-EU supporters of other parties was offset by the effects of a winter split in SDP ranks.

A breakaway party called the Awakening of the Nation set up in January swept into

the Althing, winning more than seven per cent of the vote and four seats. Iceland's women-only Women's List also lost out to the new party, which is led by the popular Ms Johanna Sigurdardottir.

The Women's List lost all five seats. The sixth parliamentary party, the left-wing People's Alliance, held on to its nine seats.

Cohesion talks are likely to take some time. Mr Oddsson said he would negotiate first with the SDP but he did not rule out other options.

Whatever the shape of the new government, the result means Iceland will almost certainly delay taking up the issue of EU membership at least until after the completion of the Intergovernmental Conference on the Union's future due to start next year.

## Balladur backer stresses patriotism

By Andrew Jack and John Riddin in Paris



Pasqua: attacked Chirac

and Mr Philippe de Villiers. However, Mr Pasqua himself made a bid for the right-wing vote by claiming that only Mr Balladur had tried to help the French take control of their own destiny, and stressing the need for children to taught to be "truly French" at school.

With the first round of the election due later this month, the gap continued to narrow between Mr Chirac, who remains the favourite, and Mr Balladur, who was either just ahead or behind Mr Lionel Jospin, the Socialist candidate, in polls published last week.

Mr Pasqua also made reference to his and Mr Balladur's record to tackle the "exclusion" of some citizens from the mainstream of French society, a day after national demonstrations protesting against borderless travel to win votes from supporters of the right-wing Mr Jean-Marie Le Pen

## Dashing all hopes of a short-cut to Emu

By Lionel Barber in Versailles

The road to economic and monetary union will be a long, hazardous and exclusive enterprise, with the single European currency likely to enter limited circulation sometime early in the next century.

This was the sobering conclusion of European Union finance ministers and central bank governors at a weekend meeting which split out for the first time the legal and practical difficulties of introducing a single currency.

The meeting took place in the Trianon Palace in Versailles, a reminder of France's capacity for pursuing projects on a grand scale. The atmosphere was harmonious and business-like, though any hopes of possible short-cuts to Emu soon evaporated.

First, it is clear that 1997 - the earliest date for a move to Emu allowed under the Maastricht treaty - is not realistic. Maastricht requires a majority of the 15 member states to meet tough targets on budget deficits, exchange rate stability, inflation, interest rates and government debt. Mr Yves-Thibault de Silguy, commissioner for economic and monetary affairs, spoke encouragingly about the outlook on

inflation and budget deficits; but was pointedly silent on accumulated debt where potential Emu candidates such as Belgium have obvious difficulties.

Second, the 15 heads of government will most likely decide in July 1998 which member states meet the so-called convergence criteria for Emu. But under pressure from Germany, which has the most to lose from giving up the D-Mark for a single European currency, the criteria will be interpreted strictly.

Third, the European central bank will be an autonomous entity. It will not be a carbon copy of the European Monetary Institute, the Frankfurt-based body preparing the technical work for Emu. The ECB will also need between six and 12 months before it is fully functioning.

This means a delay between the date at which the Emu members are chosen and the date at which exchange rates are fixed - a delay which dispels earlier impressions that governments would seek to stave a march on the markets by locking exchange rates without forewarning.

Mr Hans Tietmeyer, Bundesbank president, conceded that this delay could encourage

market turbulence as speculators "tested" Emu currencies; but he added, with relish, that if the currencies were truly worthy of joining a currency club then they had nothing to fear.

Last, a huge amount of work is required to clarify how and when the new Euro-coins and notes are to enter general circulation. Mr de Silguy suggested that the first move must be to achieve a "critical mass", with businesses and international banks quickly adopting the planned European currency unit. But other countries, notably the UK, countered that the single currency should be "demanded".

Whatever the case, it will take between three and four years to mint and print the new coins and notes. And then there will be the question of the name of the single currency. The French are happy to call it the Ecu, but the Germans do not like the idea because the present Ecu has been losing its value steadily against the D-Mark.

Mr Theo Waigel, German finance minister, thinks the Euro-Mark has a nice ring. Besides, it fits with his government's campaign to make German a working EU language alongside French and English.

### EUROPEAN NEWS DIGEST

## Liechtenstein to join trade group

Liechtenstein's voters yesterday approved revised terms of entry to the European Economic Area (EEA) as negotiated by their government over the past two years. The tiny Alpine principality wedged between Austria and Switzerland will join the free trade grouping led by the European Union on May 1. The only other non-EU members are Norway and Iceland.

Amid a high turnout, 55.9 per cent voted in favour of joining the EEA, almost the same as the 56 per cent who approved the principle in a referendum three years ago. A renegotiation and a second referendum became necessary when Switzerland, which Liechtenstein has customs and currency unions, voted against joining the EEA. Opponents of EEA membership argued Liechtenstein was surrendering power to Brussels bureaucrats, opening the doors to a flood of immigrants and risking its status as a tax haven.

But the move, championed by Prince Hans-Adam II, won wide support within the government and the financial community. Banking and tax issues are not covered in the EEA treaty and Liechtenstein secured a special concession limiting immigration. The principality will maintain its open border with Switzerland. Ian Ridder, Zurich

### Welfare row in Germany

The German government is bracing itself for criticism by the opposition Social Democrats following plans to reduce unemployment by cutting social welfare benefits. The proposals, unveiled late last week by Mr Horst Seehofer, the German health minister, involve reducing welfare assistance to 15 per cent below the lowest wage incomes, while those who reject work will get even less state support.

Mr Herbert Thallmair, president of the Germany's cities and municipalities association, said at the weekend the government could not push people below minimum subsistence levels.

Mr Seehofer, who has already spearheaded two health reform packages to cut government spending, said social welfare expenditure in western Germany had risen from DM17.5bn in 1983 to over DM43bn in 1993. He said ways must be found to ease the tax burden for employees and employers who contribute to unemployment payments.

A Berlin court is today expected to rule on whether General Electric of the US was unfairly excluded from the final round of bidding on constructing two steam turbines in eastern Germany. The appeal hearing, considered a test case by Washington, takes place days after Mr Mickey Kantor, US trade representative, and Mr Ron Brown, the US commerce secretary, wrote to Mr Günter Rexrodt, Germany's economy minister, to complain about Bonn's policy in awarding contracts. Judy Dempsey, Berlin

### IMF backing for Ukraine

The International Monetary Fund has approved credits for Ukraine totalling about \$1.96bn to support the government's 1995 economic programme. "The programme that the Ukrainian authorities have launched represents a clear break with the past, both in its commitment to rigorous financial discipline and in the implementation of substantial structural reforms," the IMF said. Of the total, about \$1.57bn is being made available as a one-year stand-by credit. Another \$32m is to be disbursed as a second drawing under the systemic transformation facility for former communist countries making the transition to market economies.

Ukraine's parliament last week paved the way for the loan by approving a tough 1995 budget that President Leonid Kuchma had worked out with the IMF. Reuter, Washington

### Peace pressure on Serbia

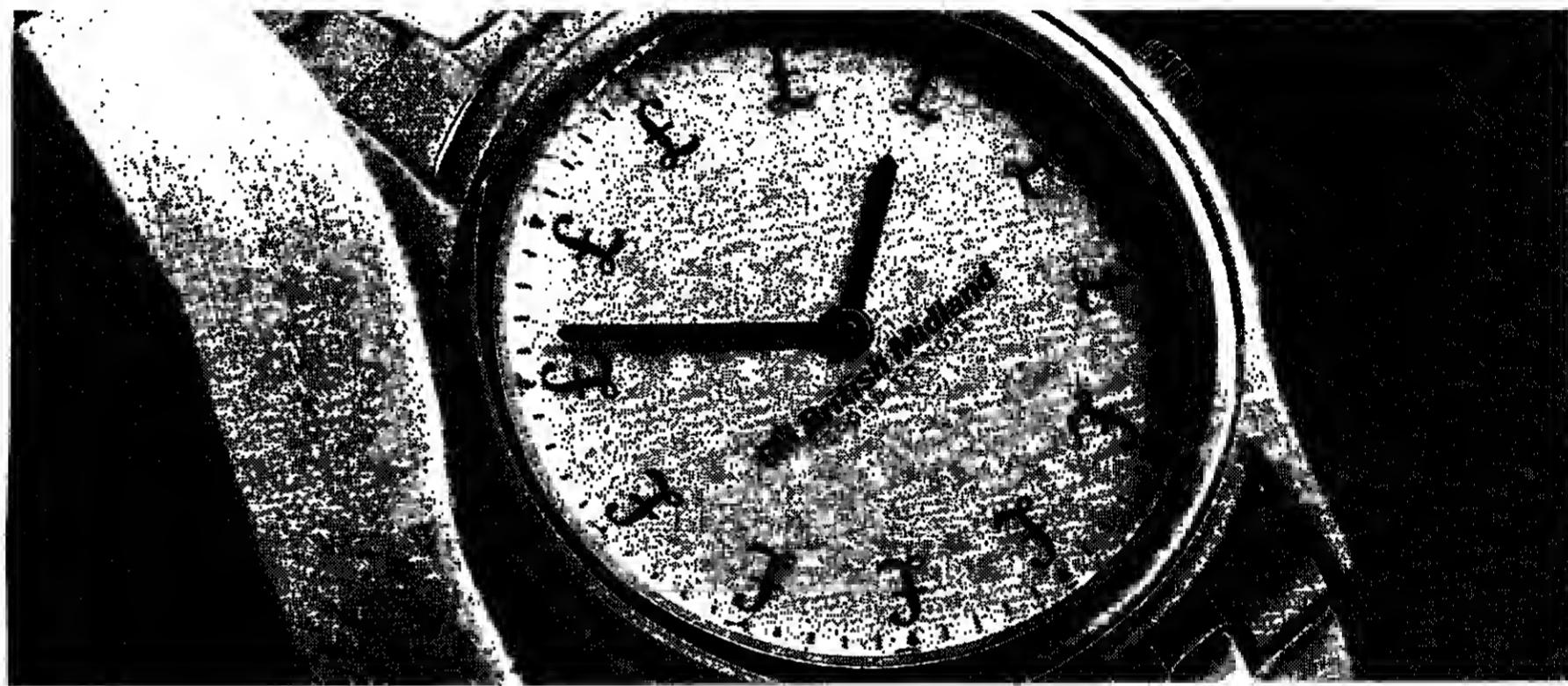
International mediators this week will try to persuade President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia to recognise Bosnia and Croatia in exchange for the suspension of sanctions. The envoys of the five-nation Contact Group will attempt to convince the warring parties to renew a ceasefire, which expires on April 30.

Belgrade has shown little interest in the Contact Group proposal. Mr Qian Qichen, the Chinese foreign minister, yesterday arrived in the Serbian capital on a three-day visit. Yugoslav authorities hope to gain Beijing's support for lifting the embargo, independent of recognition. China was the only country on the UN Security Council which did not vote for the sanctions imposed nearly three years ago.

Bosnian Serb leaders at the weekend threatened to launch a counter-offensive against Bosnian government troops. Fighting was reported in north-eastern Bosnia, where Serbs have gained the upper hand in a battle for a strategic communications tower. Laura Silber, Belgrade

### Turkey begins Iraq pullout

Turkish troops have begun withdrawing from northern Iraq, three weeks after the army swept across the border in an offensive to destroy guerrilla bases of the Kurdish Workers party (PKK). Col Dogu Silahcioglu, the army's spokesman, said about 3,000 troops moved back across the frontier into southern Turkey on Saturday but did not say when the remainder of the Turkish forces would be withdrawn. He said the contingent had left after successfully completing its mission, without giving any further clarification. John Burkhardt, Ankara



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## NEWS: THE AMERICAS

# US tax cut bill 'will be blocked'

By Jurek Martin, US  
Editor, in Washington

The Clinton administration began its counter-attack on the first 100 days of the Republican-controlled Congress by asserting that the tax bill passed by the House of Representatives last week has no chance of becoming law.

Vice-President Al Gore yesterday went on TV to dismiss the bill as "not right in the current fiscal climate". He accused Republicans of "being up to their old tricks again", sponsoring tax breaks for the wealthy.

Speaking in Texas and California, President Bill Clinton stated flatly that the tax cuts were "three times more than the country can afford", strongly implying he would veto anything that emerges from the Senate of comparable scope to the \$189bn (£117bn) bill cleared by the House.

Mr Clinton, conceded yesterday that the Senate might change the tax bill. But he criticised Mr Clinton for defending "obsolete" government. Further Republican reform proposals on this, he said, would be unveiled next month.

The president threatened to veto a series of Republican proposals covering crime, international peace-keeping and legal reform, but also offered co-operation on issues ranging from welfare to medical care.

In Sacramento, Mr Clinton told a Democratic party rally that the "psychological difficulties" of "the angry male" over affirmative action programmes, designed to help women and minorities, could not simply be ignored. "We all have to ask ourselves: are they all working, are they all fair, has there been any kind of reverse discrimination?"

Mr Gingrich said yesterday

he was opposed to "group affirmative action", but said he thought that "outreach" to help individuals to improve their lives was appropriate.

Mr Clinton and Mr Gore were responding to Mr Gingrich's remarkable Friday night address, given wide television coverage, in which he declared that the success of the Republican Contract with America was but a start on the road to truly radical reform.

"All of us together - Republicans and Democrats alike - must totally remake the federal government, to change the way it thinks, the way it treats its citizens," he said.

He foresees an end to the current income tax, probably to be replaced by a flat tax, but he refuted Democratic charges

that he was intent on dismantling the social safety net for the most vulnerable. Social security reform in the US was "off the table", for the time being, as was cutting back Medicare for the aged. Republicans would "never take food out of the mouths of schoolchildren" by eviscerating the school lunch programme.

Mr Clinton made clear his conviction that government could not be forced to abandon all its responsibilities. He specifically threatened to veto any attempt to repeal the ban last year on the sale of certain types of assault weapons, to weaken regulations covering pollution and food safety, and to limit the US ability to serve in UN peace-keeping missions.

He added that the "loser pays" provision in the House legal reform bill - intended to discourage frivolous law suits

- was unacceptable and should be changed by the Senate. Some Republicans are having second thoughts about this measure because it may be unfair on poor plaintiffs.

Mr Gingrich's commanding lead is surprising in the light of



Senator Dole: Republican Party's front-runner for 1996

many factors weighing against him: his age, his career and his record. He will be 73 by election day in November 1996, six months younger than President Ronald Reagan was when he won his second term in the White House and older than any other successful candidate.

Mr Dole says he is "a very vigorous person" who exer-

cises a lot and takes care of himself. But nearly half of his life has been spent in Washington - a questionable advantage in an era when many voters say they despise career politicians.

Besides, Mr Dole's pragmatic brand of Republican politics has clocked up a long list of practical legislative achieve-

ments, but in the present anti-government climate, he is forced to take aim at many of the spending programmes he once voted into existence.

Perhaps most difficult of all

- Mr Dole has a real job.

Unlike Mr Gramm, who has stripped congressional votes for the campaign trail or Mr Alexander, who is a full-time candidate, Mr Dole must run the Senate. That is challenging at the best of times, for senators tend to be a recalcitrant band of prima donnas.

Also, Mr Dole is measured against the breakneck speed Speaker Newt Gingrich has been setting in pushing the Republicans' Contract with America through the House of Representatives.

The Senate's more measured pace may sit better with voters, even so. Polls show most of those questioned approve of the way in which Mr Dole and the Senate are handling their jobs, while Mr Gingrich and the House arouse widespread disapproval.

Mr Dole hopes voters will still feel the same way next year, and opt one last time for a proven leader from his second-world-war generation.

"I concluded that perhaps there was one more mission - one more call to serve," he says in campaign speeches.

But the Senate leader knows from experience that it will not be easy. He failed in his first national campaign, as President Gerald Ford's vice-

presidential running mate in 1976. In 1988, he was riding high after winning the Iowa party caucuses; where members choose delegates to their nominating convention in public meetings, but fell to earth a week later when he lost in New Hampshire's secret ballot primaries to Vice-president George Bush.

"I was elected President of Iowa, and then, eight days later, I came to New Hampshire and I was defeated," Mr Dole quips today.

This time, Mr Dole and his campaign handlers are determined not to make the same mistakes. Campaign officials say they already have three times as many volunteers lined up in New Hampshire as they did on polling day 1988, as well as the backing of former Senator Warren Rudman.

In most other states, too, Mr Dole has endorsements from the top echelon of local Republicans.

So many states have moved their primaries forward in the calendar that the 1996 nomination campaign is expected to be won and lost much earlier than in previous years.

With an improved organisation, a large campaign war-chest and his high national profile as the Senate leader, Mr Dole may just be able to cruise to the Republican party's presidential nomination before his rivals have even managed to get their names known across the nation.

# Fraud bid revealed in Peru's election

By Sally Bowen in Lima

Last-minute evidence of intended electoral fraud on a substantial scale, and a request by nine of the 14 presidential candidates to postpone the voting, failed in half Peru's presidential and congressional elections yesterday.

Just hours before polling began, 20 people - including three officials of the national electoral board - were detained when a complex fraud plan was uncovered in the central Andean town of Huamanga. It involved the forging of electoral returns for 3,000 voting tables - more than 500,000 ballots or some five per cent of all Peruvians expected to vote.

The nine candidates calling for postponement, in a statement late on Saturday night, that the board was "in no position to guarantee that the events at Huamanga are not being repeated at other previous electoral boards".

Mr Javier Pérez de Cuellar, former UN secretary-general and chief rival to President Alberto Fujimori who is seeking a second term, was one of the candidates asking for a delay.

He said: "The link [of the government's electoral alliance] with the uncovered fraud is another affirmation of Mr Fujimori's obsession with getting himself re-elected at any cost."

The former diplomat, however, refused to pull out of the contest. Instead, he called on all Peruvians to be extra vigilant throughout the seven hours of voting.

The government played down the planned fraud. Mr Efraín Gómez, prime minister, late on Saturday expressed official "regretation of a criminal act", but asserted there were "no reasonable indications" which implicated any political party or group in the conspiracy.

Even so, the Huamanga incident will cast a shadow over the electoral results. Mr Fujimori, according to pollsters' predictions, stands a fair chance of securing the 50 per cent of all valid votes needed for a first-round victory. Given the lingering suspicion of more extensive fraud, he will now need to clear that mark by a substantial margin if he is to disarm charges of electoral manipulation.

The Organisation of American States has a team of 70 observers in Peru for the elections. Mr César Gaviria, OAS secretary-general, refused to comment yesterday in Lima on the possibilities of further fraud, although the organisation had asserted that the "transparency and legitimacy" of the elections was "in grave danger".

# Old, familiar and way out in front

George Graham went to Kansas and found Bob Dole declaring for the presidency

Presidential candidates usually dislike being dubbed front-runners, but Senator Bob Dole, who is to announce his candidacy for next year's Republican party presidential nomination in his home state of Kansas today, is revelling in his early lead.

"I like it. I hope it lasts," he says of opinion polls which show him ahead of rivals such as Senator Phil Gramm of Texas or Mr Lamar Alexander, a former governor of Tennessee.

Mr Gramm has a coherent, right-wing message, and a formidable fund-raising machine, while Mr Alexander has a folksy style and a strong campaign organisation drawn from among the staffs of fellow governors.

But, ten months before the first primary ballot in New Hampshire, Mr Dole, leader of the majority Republicans in the Senate, draws half or more of likely Republican voters while his rivals are hard-pressed to push their percentages above single digits.

A recent poll by the Marist Institute shows Mr Dole winning 53 per cent of a Republican primary vote (42 per cent even if General Colin Powell, popular ex-chairman of the military's joint chiefs of staff, were to run for the party's nomination) and beating President Bill Clinton in a head-to-head contest.

Mr Dole's commanding lead is surprising in the light of

## Democrats peeved at Murdoch's tax break

By George Graham  
in Washington

Democrats in the US are not pleased by the fact that the biggest item they have managed to get through the new Congress so far is a tax break for Mr Rupert Murdoch, the controversial Australian-born media tycoon.

HarperCollins, his publishing subsidiary, is at the hub of an ethics row over a \$4.5m (£2.8m) book contract it offered Mr Newt Gingrich, now Speaker of the House of Representatives, just after the Republican victory in the Congressional elections last November.

The Murdoch-owned Fox television network, meanwhile, is Exhibit A in the case against sex, violence and stupidity in US broadcasting. It is also under attack from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the oldest US civil rights organisation, for skirting US laws on foreign ownership of television stations and thus excluding black and other minority group owners.

But Mr Murdoch's tax concession comes from a programme to help minority broadcasters and which the NAACP has been trying to rescue. The break, allowing tax to be deferred on profits from the sale of a radio or television station to a minority owner, thus excluding black and other minority group owners.

During more than two years in the White House, Mr Clinton has yet to veto a bill. As measures he opposes get tried to measures he supports, he is finding it as hard to veto with a Republican majority in Congress he did when the Democrats were in control.

In the last few years, nearly all US states have passed legislation to restrict smoking in public places, and more

## Widespread smoking ban from today in NY

By Richard Tomlins in New York

New York City will bow today to the rising tide of anti-smoking sentiment in the US by introducing tough measures to prohibit smoking in nearly all public places except the street.

The ban embraces offices and factories, shops, restaurants, bingo parlours, sports stadiums, parks and zoos. But it excludes bars, bar areas of restaurants, and restaurants seating fewer than 35 people.

In the workplace, smoking will be allowed only in separately ventilated rooms established for smoking breaks. The self-employed will be allowed to smoke in their own workplace only if three or fewer people are present and all consent.

The controversial legislation was passed in January amid protests that it was too restrictive, went against the city's tradition of tolerance and could drive away tourists from Europe and Asia.

Some restaurant owners said they would go out of business if the legislation were passed, but proponents of the ban said experience in other cities showed that restaurants gained as much business from non-smokers as they lost from smokers.

In the last few years, nearly all US states have passed legislation to restrict smoking in public places, and more

than 100 US cities have introduced more extensive bans.

New York city's restrictions, which build on those already imposed by New York state, are tough by comparison with those elsewhere. But some cities and states have banned smoking in all restaurants, and California has established a timetable for banning smoking in bars from January 1, 1997.

The impetus for the smoking restrictions in the US was provided by an Environmental Protection Agency report published at the beginning of 1993. It said second-hand smoke was responsible for 3,000 lung cancer deaths a year among US non-smokers.

This prompted legislators to seek ways to protect non-smoking employees from second-hand smoke in the workplace. But the restrictions went beyond offices and factories because nearly all public places - including restaurants, sports stadiums and zoos - are also workplaces.

New York city's smoking ban comes into effect days after the publication of figures which show that growing anti-smoking sentiment had failed to reduce cigarette consumption in the US last year. The number of cigarettes sold was 48.6bn, the same as the year before. The US agriculture department, which produced the data, said this was because smoking was cheaper after a price war between the big manufacturers.

It is, at 150 per 1,000 births, is closer to African than Latin American levels of development.

Thirty per cent of the population is illiterate, and 80 per cent earn less than the minimum wage of \$2 (£1.24) a day.

Mr Zedillo suspended the arrest warrants last month in an attempt to draw the guerrillas back to negotiations.

The talks are the first attempt for a negotiated solution since President Ernesto Zedillo ordered the arrest of Zapatista leaders in February and sent the army to capture towns and villages which had been under guerrilla control for more than a year.

The army quickly overran rebel-held territory, but it failed to arrest the Zapatistas' leader, Sub-comandante Marcos, who retreated into the Lacandon jungle on the border of Guatemala with an estimated 15,000 supporters.

Both sides have avoided open conflict because they know they are out-gunned and out-numbered, the army because it does not want blame for a bloodbath.

Mr Zedillo suspended the arrest warrants last month in an attempt to draw the guerrillas back to negotiations.

The Zapatistas, who call themselves after the hero of the 1910 Mexican revolution, Emiliano Zapata, have not fired a shot since the first days of the uprising and pose no serious military threat. However, they have grown in political importance by claiming to speak for the 1m Maya people in Chiapas - a poor despised community in one of Mexico's most backward states.

Life expectancy in Chiapas is 44 years, against a national average of 70; infant mortality

## New US-UK air talks today

By Michael Stabiner in London and Laurie Morse in Chicago

Negotiations from the US and the UK are to meet in Washington today, in a renewed attempt to reach an aviation agreement.

A three-day meeting in London last month failed after the US side had unsuccessfully demanded greater access to Heathrow airport in London for US carriers. Those talks were the first since 1983, when the US walked out of negotiations after a breakdown over the Heathrow issue.

The airline industry is sharply divided over prospects for this week's talks, which are to continue until Wednesday. Sir Colin Marshall, British Airways chairman, says he is confident of reaching an agreement.

BA wants to increase its flights from London to Philadelphia from once to twice daily. Philadelphia is an important hub for USAir, a financial

ally straitened carrier in which BA has a 24.8 per cent stake.

United is so confident of success this week that it is preparing to start selling tickets for the route on Thursday, with flights to begin in May, summer being the carrier's high season.

Not everyone in the US is as enthusiastic. American Airlines is expected to file its response to United's application to the transportation department. American has opposed United being granted the Chicago-London route.

The rivalry between American and United remains strong. American and others have insisted on calling for greater access for all airlines to Heathrow, which has resisted that demand this week, the talks are unlikely to succeed.

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## Inkatha withdraws from Assembly

By Roger Matthews in Johannesburg

South Africa's Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party has carried out its threat to withdraw from the process of drawing up the country's final constitution in protest at the failure of its two partners in the government of national unity to honour a pre-election agreement.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the IFP and minister of home affairs, warned last month that unless the African National Congress and the National Party agreed by April 5 to appoint international mediators to help resolve his party's demands, the IFP would pull out of the Constitutional Assembly, formed by the lower house of parliament and the senate.

"What difference does it make whether we are there or not when the ANC will not tolerate suggestions from others. It is clear that they want to write their own constitution, so let them do it," said Chief Buthelezi after a meeting of the IFP's national council in Umlazi at the weekend.

An issue is the degree of autonomy to be granted to South Africa's nine provinces in the final constitution and in particular to the IFP's home territory of KwaZulu Natal. The IFP agreed at the last moment to participate in last April's general election only after the ANC and the National Party accepted that international mediators should be appointed to help in the resolution of the dispute.

The ANC has shown little enthusiasm for international mediation and argues that the Constitutional Assembly is the proper forum for negotiations. Last week it adopted proposals for the final constitution that offered a modest devolution of power to the provinces which fell far short of IFP demands.

Mr Buthelezi reacted angrily to ANC suggestions that the IFP had not indicated which issues the party wished to be subject to mediation. He said they were defined a year ago.

## Bombings cast doubt on Israeli pullout

By Eric Silver in Jerusalem

Two suicide bomb attacks, killing seven Israelis and wounding 45 others in the Gaza Strip, yesterday raised fresh doubts over whether Israel would honour the July 1 deadline for Palestinian elections and for redeployment of its forces from West Bank Arab towns and villages.

The bombings occurred on the approaches to two isolated Jewish settlements - Kfar Darom and Netzarim - south of Gaza city.

In the first attack, a blue van exploded alongside a bus carrying soldiers and settlers from the Israeli port city of Ashdod to Kfar Darom. Six passengers were killed and 40 wounded. A Palestinian witness said the burned body of the bomber was hurled 50 metres away.

Two hours later, a car detonated as a paramilitary border police jeep and a civilian car were passing near Netzarim, killing one policeman and wounding at least two others.

Israeli hospitals reported last night that 12 of the wounded were in serious condition.

Islamic Jihad, the smaller and more extreme of the two Islamist groups fighting inside the Israel-Palestinian peace process, claimed respons-

ability for the bus attack. Hamas, the larger "Islamic Resistance Movement", said its unit was behind the other attack.

Both groups said the attacks were revenge for the death of a leading Hamas activist, Kamal Khalil, who died in an explosion in a Gaza city flat a week ago. Palestinian police said he blew himself up while preparing a bomb, but Hamas insisted he was killed by Israeli agents.

The Israeli prime minister, Mr Yitzhak Rabin, said after a visit to Kfar Darom that the bombings would not stop the peace negotiations.

"We will continue to fulfil our commitments," he said, "but we shall press the Palestinian Authority to prove here in Gaza that it can fight the terrorists and stop these attacks." The government would go on restricting the entry of Palestinian day-labourers to prevent similar outrages inside Israel, he added.

Other ministers urged Mr Rabin to reconsider his pledge to pull the army out of West Bank population centres by July 1 to facilitate Palestinian elections. The agriculture minister, Mr Ya'cov Tsur, demanded that Mr Yassir Arafat, the PLO leader, disarm the Islamic gunmen before Israel



Victims of yesterday's Gaza bombings are carried on stretchers from a helicopter into hospital

exposes West Bank settlers to danger.

The health minister, Mr Ephraim Sheh, a retired brigadier who served as governor of the West Bank in the 1980s, said: "We shall have to reconsider the pace of redeployment. Gaza was the experiment, but the reality on the ground did

not live up to our expectations. It was not a total failure, but it does not justify a rapid duplication of the Gaza model on the West Bank."

The left-wing environment minister, Mr Yossi Sarid, called earlier this weekend for the evacuation of Netzarim, which he described as "a bone in

Israel's throat." He said last night the bombings had only strengthened his conviction that the settlement, a target of repeated Palestinian attacks, should go. Other ministers sounded a warning, however, against doing anything that could be interpreted as a surrender to terrorism.

### INTERNATIONAL NEWS DIGEST

## Beijing licences for foreign banks

China plans by the end of the year to sanction the establishment in Beijing of five branches of foreign banks, according to a report published yesterday in the Shanghai Securities newspaper. It quoted an official of the People's Bank as saying the five licences would go to large institutions from "different countries or regions". It is expected that China will award the much sought-after licences to banks from Japan, the US and Europe. The Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank is among the frontrunners. By the end of 1994, 101 foreign-funded banks, banking branches and finance companies had opened their doors in China. China recently selected 10 additional cities that would be opened to foreign financial institutions, including Beijing, Wuhan and Chengdu. *Tony Walker, Beijing*

### Gunfights on Tajik border

Fierce gunfights on the Tajik-Afghan border between Tajik opposition fighters and Russian border troops have left at least 23 people dead in the past three days and brought renewed instability to the troubled region. The Tajik government yesterday appealed to the Commonwealth of Independent States and the United Nations to take emergency steps to help stabilise the situation. A UN special representative is in the Tajik capital, Dushanbe, to try to broker a truce negotiated between the government and opposition forces last September.

The Russian border guards, who have been stationed in Tajikistan since 1992 after a bitter civil war in the former Soviet republic, warned that Tajik insurgents had crossed the border on Friday and were trying to seize power in the Badakhshan region. Gen Anatoly Chechulin, commander of the Russian guards, claimed the incursion was "the beginning of well prepared wide-scale actions" by armed Islamic militants. *John Thornhill, Moscow*

### Cuba-Chile ties restored

Cuba and Chile have re-established full diplomatic ties, suspended for nearly 22 years, after the 1973 military coup in Chile. The move completes a process of rapprochement since the restoration of democratic civilian rule in Chile in 1990.

The two countries had already re-opened trade and consular ties, but a return to full diplomatic relations was opposed by some sectors of Chile's political establishment. The announcement was another step forward in the Cuban government's diplomatic campaign to consolidate its links with Latin American states since the collapse of the Soviet bloc.

Cuba's Foreign Minister, Mr Roberto Robaina, said restoration of diplomatic relations with Chile should help boost bilateral trade. *Pascal Fletcher, Havana*

### Algeria debt deal delayed

Algeria and its commercial bank creditors have failed to reach final agreement on rescheduling the country's \$4.5bn in commercial debt. Algerian central bank officials said yesterday, both the London Club of commercial creditors and the central bank had expected a deal to be signed at the end of a week-long meeting in Paris on Friday. Despite agreement on the general terms of a deal, however, final details have yet to ironed out. "Ninety-eight per cent of the work is done and only a few small details are left," a central bank official said. The final deal is expected to extend debt maturities due between March 1994 and December 1997 over about 15 years and include a main Algerian demand - rescheduling of most of the \$1.5bn portion of the commercial debt which bankers had effectively rescheduled in 1991. *Roula Khalaf, London*

## Waiting for Iraq to come back on stream

David Gardner on oil market wariness over the anticipated end to Baghdad's embargo

Iraq's return to the oil market, when UN sanctions against President Saddam Hussein are eventually lifted, could help stabilise rather than depress oil prices in the medium-term by removing an uncertainty which is now holding prices down, according to senior Saudi Arabian oil ministry officials.

The embargo on Iraq, imposed after Mr Saddam's invasion of Kuwait in 1990, is up again for review this month. The US and UK are resisting French and Russian pressure to ease sanctions, arguing that Baghdad has still not come clean on its capacity to produce weapons of mass destruction.

Although there is little early prospect of sanctions being relaxed, the oil market's perception that Iraq will pump as much oil as it can and export at a heavy discount to recoup market share and rebuild its stock of hard currency, allied to signs that the coalition in favour of the embargo is crumbling, is already depressing prices, some ana-

lysts argue.

"You can't talk to anyone in the market who doesn't say 'When Iraq comes back...'" says one senior Saudi oil ministry official.

"Security considerations aside, it would be better to see

sanctions go, thereby removing the 'Iraqi discount' from the market," he adds.

Before the invasion of Kuwait, Iraq

was producing on average 3.4m barrels of oil a day. It now pumps an estimated 600,000 b/d, sparing a UN facility allowing for the monitored export of higher quantities to pay for food and medicines.

Mr Safa Hadi Jawad Al-Habibi, Iraq's oil minister, was quoted yesterday as saying that Baghdad would pump 2m b/d as soon as sanctions are lifted.

But the senior Saudi official doubts that

Baghdad could get output up to beyond

1.6m b/d in the short-term, because of

several factors including war damage to

its transportation facilities, dilapidation

and lack of maintenance of its wells and plant due to equipment shortages, and under-investment during the Iran-Iraq war in the 1980s.

He foresees a short-lived price "spike"

downwards when Iraq comes back on stream, but thereafter "there could indeed be a premium" with firmer prices once the full extent of the Iraqi oil industry's disarray becomes clear.

Conventional wisdom is that Iraqi re-

entry would cause a precipitate price

fall, followed by a slow recovery to just

below current levels. If sanctions are

stretched sufficiently far into the

future, demand - especially from Asia

- could rise enough to absorb the new

supply, maintaining prices. One analyst

suggested the Saudis, who increased

their own market share at Iraq's

expense to a level now over 3m b/d and

ostensibly have most to lose from an

Iraqi return may be trying to

take up the oil price. Moreover, French,

Russian, Spanish, Italian and Brazilian

oil companies are in line to develop

potentially huge oil-fields in Iraq once

sanctions are gone.

The Saudis, however, cast doubt on Mr Saddam's willingness to allow in foreign capital, seeing in his recent overtures to oil multinationals a tactical bid to widen splits in the anti-Iraq coalition. "Think of their state of desperation in the 1990s," one senior official said, when Saudi Arabia "let" Iraq over \$8bn of its own oil. "They weren't prepared to do it then," he said.

Furthermore, he added, the Ba'athist regime's history of nationalism, adventurism, and hostility to foreigners, plus fears that Iraq might disintegrate after Mr Saddam's departure, will make foreign oil companies wary of investing even after sanctions go. "I don't think they would come up with a risk assessment allowing their boards to spend billions of dollars," the official concluded.

*See Feature*

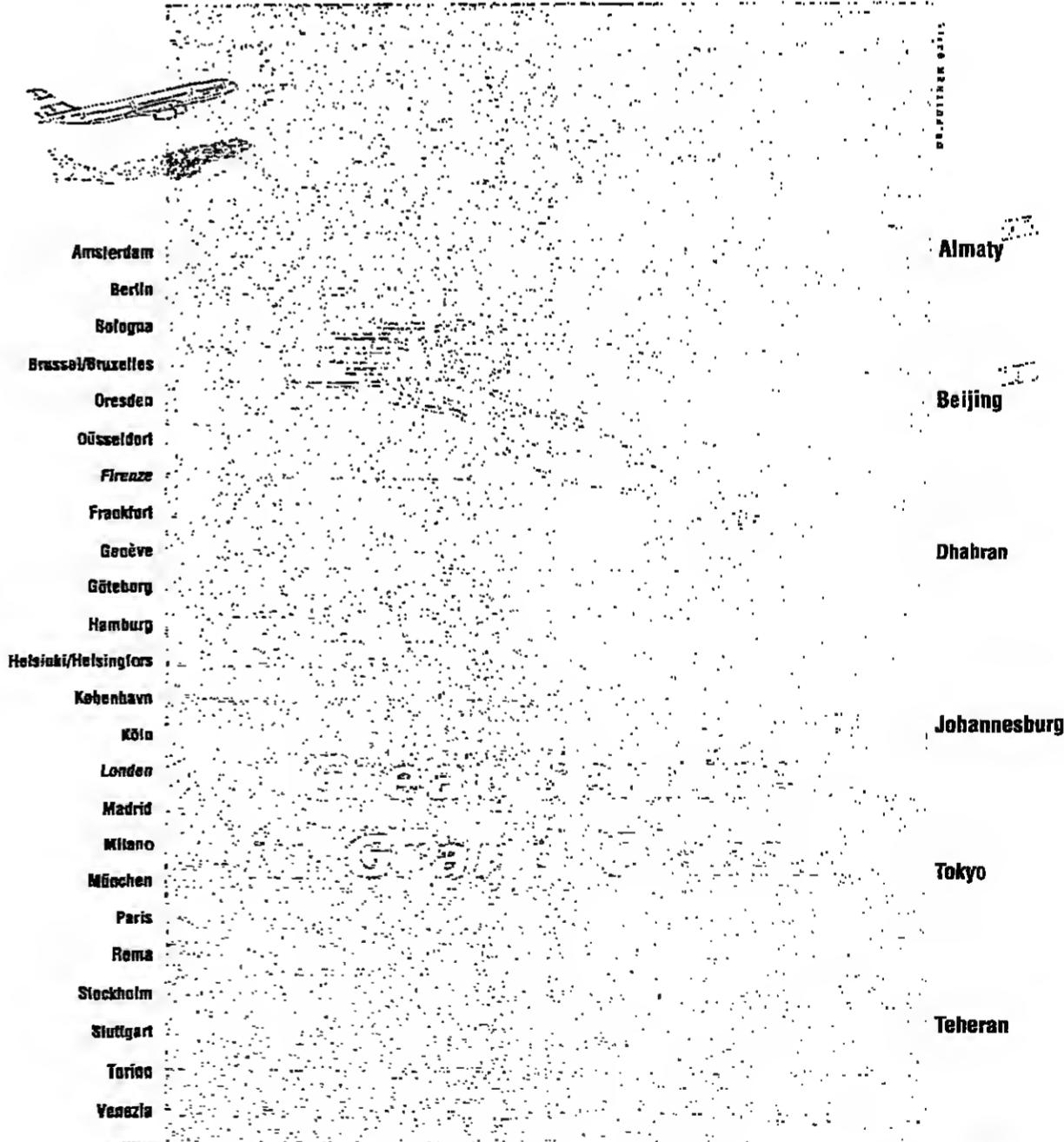
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Welcome To

## NEWS: ASIA-PACIFIC

Vice-mayor commits suicide ahead of corruption investigation

## Accused Beijing official dies

By Tony Walker in Beijing

China has announced the suicide of a vice-mayor of Beijing accused of corruption. Mr Wang Baosen, one of two vice-mayors, shot himself last Tuesday after being investigated for "economic irregularities".

The death of Mr Wang and the arrest earlier this year of two municipal officials have rocked the powerful Beijing city government - Beijing functions virtually as a "city state" - and fuelled speculation that other senior figures may be implicated.

The high-profile suicide also draws attention to a nationwide anti-corruption drive launched in August 1993 which has

ensnared a number of officials at or below vice-minister level.

China's official Xinhua newspaper published a terse report of Mr Wang's suicide, reporting merely that "it has been learned that Wang, 60, killed himself ahead of factoring an investigation into economic irregularities."

Corruption allegations have swirled over the Beijing municipal government for months. This coincided with reports of the detention of a former secretary to Mr Chen Xitong, the Beijing Communist party boss, and also of a former aide to Mr Li Qiyuan, the mayor. Mr Lu Yucheng, a vice-mayor of Beijing, confirmed in an interview recently that these two men had been detained on suspicion of

corruption. Mr Wang was chairman of the Beijing planning commission and would have had knowledge of many of the large number of property development projects now under way across the city of 10m people.

His suicide recalls the arrest in February on suspicion of corruption of Mr Zhou Beifang, a senior manager of Beijing's Shougang (Capital) Iron and Steel Works which is controlled by the municipality. Mr Zhou headed Shougang's interests in Hong Kong.

The Beijing Daily reported at the weekend that the city authorities were stepping up their campaign against corruption. Some 500 cases of graft were handled last year.

## Taiwan calls for China talks

By Laura Tyson in Taipei

Taiwan's President Lee Teng-hui called at the weekend for formal talks to end more than four decades of hostilities between Taipei and Beijing, but said China must first renounce the threat of force against the island it views as a renegade province.

In an address on cross-strait ties, Mr Lee also issued a thinly veiled warning to authorities in Beijing to protect democracy in Hong Kong and Macao after those territories revert to Chinese rule, or risk alienating Taiwan.

"I must stress that using so-called 'Taiwan independence campaigns' or 'foreign interference' as excuses not to abandon a military solution is to ignore and distort the founding spirit and policies of the Republic of China," Mr Lee said, using Taiwan's official name.

He later said: "Maintaining economic prosperity and a free and democratic lifestyle is the aspiration of the people of Hong Kong and Macao... we hope mainland authorities will respond to [their] requests." He added that this aim was the "responsibility of both sides of the Taiwan strait", which analysts said implied that if Bel-

Taiwan has moved to stamp out a flourishing underground foreign exchange market in an islandwide sweep which netted 40 illegal currency trading houses writes Laura Tyson from Taipei. District prosecutors are investigating an unspecified number of individuals involved in unauthorised forex dealing but no charges have been made. "Some people pour their money into illegal financial activities and that shows our society is still bathed in speculation," said a statement released over the weekend by the justice ministry's investigation bureau. "This needs to be corrected."

Taiwan's monetary authorities have been liberalising financial markets since 1987. But a highly efficient black market has grown which avoids remaining foreign exchange controls and restrictions on trading. Authorities apparently were concerned that such activities had become rampant, with underground houses borrowing on margin to finance speculative activities.

The investigation bureau said some of underground houses are cheating customers. "This seriously affects social order and causes major problems for society," the bureau said.

Taipei has demanded that Beijing pledge not to attack Taiwan since unilaterally dropping the threat of an offensive strike against the mainland several years ago, but this marked the first time that Taiwan has hinted it may seek a formal peace treaty. Beijing threatens to attack if Taiwan declares independence or is invaded.

However, political analysis and diplomats agreed Mr Lee proffered only a few novel themes after taking them over Taipei would surely reject entering into an alliance with President Jiang Zemin.

Taipei has officially banned direct political and commercial contacts since General Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist army fled to the island after losing China's civil war in 1949. Both sides call for reunification, but support for independence is growing among Taiwanese, who have little affinity with their mainland "compatriots".

Economic ties have flourished since hostilities began to ease in the late 1980s, and arm's-length political links were established in 1992. But little progress has been made despite two years of talks.

Mr Lee's long-ruling Kuomintang (Nationalist) party may lose its parliamentary majority in elections later this year. He is also treading carefully ahead of Taiwan's first presidential elections, for which he has yet to declare his candidacy but is widely expected to run, to be held in March 1996.

President Lee cannot afford to give anything away right now, otherwise his domestic position will be weakened, but at the same time he must reassure Beijing that the government still wants reunification," said Mr Lu Ya-ji, politics professor at National Taiwan University.

Mr Lee reiterated Taipei's demand for Beijing to recognise Taiwan as a sovereign entity and stop thwarting Taiwan's attempts to join international organisations. He also restated a call for an informal meeting between himself and Mr Jiang at the annual Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation forum. Mr Jiang in effect rejected all three requests in his January speech.

## UK group set for Pakistan deal

By Michael Smith

National Grid, operator of the power transmission system in England and Wales, is expected to be confirmed this week as Pakistan's choice to lead a \$400m project to build its own and maintain a 1,440km transmission line.

The project to provide Pakistan with a fourth extra high-voltage circuit will help ease concerns by investors in generating plants about the country's transmission infrastructure.

The 500kV single-circuit overhead line will run from Lahore in the north to Hyderabad in the south. The project is the National Grid's biggest diversification out of the UK.

The 500kV line will run via nine new or extended substations. An extra 120km of 220kV double-circuit overhead line will also be built

as part of the deal.

National Grid must raise the money needed for the project by the end of the year. About two-thirds of the work is to be completed by December 1997 and the rest by June 1999.

The project is part of Pakistan's multi-billion dollar efforts to modernise its electricity industry. Since implementing policies last year to encourage investment, the government says more than \$12bn has been committed.

Contractors to the project include Balfour Beatty, of the UK, which will undertake the turnkey construction role, and Rayrolle, also of the UK, which will supply power substation equipment.

The 500kV line will run via nine new or extended substations. An extra 120km of 220kV double-circuit overhead line will also be built

by the 12 regional electricity companies in England and Wales. Executives at the regional companies are working on plans to float the Grid as a separate company on the Stock Exchange. The flotation may be effected later this year, depending on the outcome of a regulatory review of the regional companies' distribution businesses.

However, businessmen and some officials fear that some of the money will be withdrawn unless the transmission infrastructure is significantly improved. The government's "independent transmission policy" aims to address the prob-

lems by allowing new transmission infrastructure to be provided by the private sector on a 30-year concession basis.

International competitive tenders were called for two major packages of work. The National Grid consortium is thought to have won both packages.

The National Grid is owned by the 12 regional electricity companies in England and Wales. Executives at the regional companies are working on plans to float the Grid as a separate company on the Stock Exchange. The flotation may be effected later this year, depending on the outcome of a regulatory review of the regional companies' distribution businesses.

state government and Eksim, a publicly listed company controlled by Mr Tim Pak Khing, a Sarawak-based entrepreneur.

Though the government initially said Bakun would be a private sector project, industry analysts say it is likely that enterprises such as ERF will be called on to invest substantial funds.

The Bakun dam, capable of generating 2,400MW, is due to be completed by the end of the century. Power from Bakun will go to peninsular Malaysia first by 670km of overhead cables and then through a 650km submarine cable.

Environmentalists and opposition politicians have raised strong objections to the Bakun project. They say Bakun is an ill-conceived scheme of doubtful economic merit that could bring environmental disaster.

Dr Mahathir Mohamad, the prime minister, has said Bakun will act as a catalyst for economic growth in Malaysia and turn the country into a regional power exporter.

The scheme involves building a dam - nearly twice the height of Egypt's Aswan dam - at Bakun, deep in the interior of the east Malaysian state of Sarawak. An area of tropical rain forest larger than Singapore will be cleared and flooded.

Mr Anwar Ibrahim, deputy prime minister and finance minister, said cabinet had decided the state-run Employees Provident Fund (EPF), together with Tenaga Nasional, the partially privatised electricity utility, and Hicom, a government-controlled investment company, would have a 49 per cent stake in the Bakun project. The rest would be divided between the Sarawak

agents should be raised from present terms of a year to 18 months up to 3-5 years as the "minimum" required, to push through reforms.

The report also recommends increased privatisation of India's ports, airports and bus services and further deregulation of the country's road haulage operations.

But it says meeting the "huge backlog of economically justified road projects" would require financing that cannot be met just by injections of private capital, public toll roads or proposed build-operate-transfer schemes. "The only viable alternative" in this sector, says the report, would be to levy "new, earmarked taxes on diesel and leaded petrol."

"The Indian Transport Sector - Long Term Issues, The World Bank, 1318 H St NW, Washington DC.

## India urged to speed rail reforms

By Mark Nicholson in New Delhi

India must give priority to reforming its state-run rail sector to prevent the saturated transport system from hampering further economic growth, according to a World Bank study released yesterday.

The report, entitled "The Indian Transport Sector - Long Term Issues," says India has "only begun" the task of reforming its transport infrastructure, administration and laws necessary to promote growth in its international trade.

The study notes that India has shifted decisively from being a rail-dominant economy in the 1950s to being road-dominant, with more than 60 per cent of freight and 80 per cent of passenger traffic now burdening India's inefficient

and relatively dangerous roads.

With India's economy growing at rates of between 4.5 per cent and 6 per cent, the report says this implies a doubling of freight transport every 10-13 years and of passenger transport every 4-10 years. Foreign trade volumes at these growth rates would double every eight years.

However, the report says energy, environmental, public safety, land and population relocation problems conspire against fast or efficient expansion of the country's 2m km of surfaced and unsurfaced roads. These factors make railways "uniquely positioned" to relieve present transport bottlenecks, as the "least energy intensive and polluting... as well as safest and least demanding of land for expansion".

However, to relieve the state

rail system of bottlenecks and to permit growth in the freight volumes necessary for growing trade, the bank outlines a series of reforms which, it concedes, would be "difficult, even in the long term".

Chief among these would be removing the "burden of redundant labour" on the rail network, which it puts at a minimum of 400,000 jobs, and eliminating high subsidies on passenger rail fares.

"The very least that can be done in the short run is to run the passenger services as a commercial venture," it says. The railways should also be depoliticised, says the report, by distancing the state service from its present "daily scrutiny" by parliament and making the service a semi-autonomous public corporation.

The report adds that the average tenure of senior man-



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## THIS WEEK

**O**ne of the worst kept secrets in Brussels is that the two French EU commissioners are barely on speaking terms. Now, before the heavy open with a flood of denials, it must be said that Yves-Thibault de Silguy and Edith Cresson are among the most gifted, hard-working and charming people in town. They just do not happen to like each other.

De Silguy is the dashing chevalier with a taste for English sports jackets and silk handkerchiefs. Though prone to intellectual bullying, he possesses the high-class mind one would expect from a graduate of the Ecole Nationale d'Administration, the nursery for France's technocratic elite. As for Cresson, her combination of elegance, earthiness and political cunning explains why President Mitterrand succumbed, briefly, to the temptation of making her his prime minister.

Last October, the two rivals appeared the best of friends. De Silguy, a former adviser to Edouard Balladur, the French prime minister, had just received notice that he had won the prized economic and

monetary affairs portfolio in the incoming European Commission headed by Jacques Santer. And Cresson was more than happy with her new responsibilities as commissioner for the cash-rich research and development budget. Both pledged co-operation before the French press.

Within weeks the honeymoon was over. Egged on by their staff, the two commissioners engaged in a struggle more suited to the court of Louis XIV. A Cresson aide pledged to "emasculate" de Silguy. In retaliation, he organised a successful campaign to deprive Cresson of one of the two Commission vice-presidencies, largely ceremonial positions subject to a secret ballot of all 20 commissioners.

"It is a little French tragedy," says a mutual friend. "Both these people are highly talented. They are on top of their dossier, but they have one weakness: they cannot live without enemies."

However, the Cresson-de Silguy tale involves more than a clash of personalities. It is symptomatic of the decline of French influence inside the European Commission following the departure of Jacques Delors, the visionary Frenchman who made an indelible mark on the institution between 1988 and 1995.

Like Charles de Gaulle, Delors had a knack of speaking for France and Europe in one breath. His project to create a European industry union (and destroy the hegemony of the Bundesbank) stands as the most audacious example of identifying the French national interest with a wider European interest. He was able to

steamroller opposition, thanks to his stamina, his intellect, and to the power base he established in Brussels as president of the Commission.

Today, the French power base is crumbling. The network of Delors' loyalists has broken up. Everyone knows that Jacques Santer of Luxembourg was Chancellor Helmut Kohl's choice, not Mitterrand's or Balladur's. Though a francophone, Santer is determined to stay neutral between Paris and Bonn and not give the French a free ride. Inside the Commission, a new political dynamic is at work. The entry of Austria, Finland and Sweden into the EU this year

has tilted the balance of power to the Anglo-German-Dutch free-trade camp, weakening the French-led "Club Med" protectionists. Just as telling was the long overdue decision to end the French language monopoly in Commission press briefings. During Delors' regime, few dared raise the *lingua franca* issue for fear of arousing French sensitivities; but the admission of two more English-speaking Scandinavian countries made reform inevitable.

Business is also being conducted differently inside meetings of the full Commission. In his heyday, Delors controlled the agenda with an iron grip. Most commissioners went along, with the exception of the ever combative Sir Leon Brittan, the senior UK representative, and the wily Padraig Flynn, the Irish social affairs commissioner.

The Santer Commission is far less susceptible to being stampeded. Individuals

such as Monika Wulf-Matthei, the German regional affairs commissioner, and Emma Bonino, the brassy fisheries commissioner, are strong-willed politicians in their own right; so, too, Franco Frattini, the Austrian farm commissioner, and Menzies-Kinnoch, Britain's former Labour party leader. Sir Leon rejects the notion that French influence is diminishing, but concedes that "other voices are being heard".

In future, these alternative voices are certain to grow in volume. Often, though by no means all the time, they will reflect the interests and preferences of Germany, the EU's most powerful state. The commitment to admit the former communist countries of central and eastern Europe around the turn of the century is, above all, a German-driven project, as is the idea of a "hard core" of integration-minded states committed to political and monetary union.

The conclusion must be that Germany, rather than France, is taking the lead in sketching out the future of Europe. The French may recover their nerve and unity after their presidential election in month. But do not bet the farm.

# The French divide in Europe

## DATELINE

**Brussels: infighting is symptomatic of weaker French influence, writes Lionel Barber**

## PEOPLE

### Lord Stevens looks to a richer future

The chairman of United Newspapers tells Raymond Snoddy that newspapers are here to stay

Lord Stevens of Ludgate, chairman of United Newspapers, has found his way on to the internet, although he concedes it was an assisted passage. The man responsible today for Lord Beaverbrook's old Daily Express has at least looked cyberspace in the eye, even though he has not gone as far as getting himself an e-mail address.

His lordship's state of personal electronic readiness is perhaps an appropriate metaphor for United's cautious attitude to the world of electronic superhighways.

Son of the scientist Edwin Stevens, a pioneer in the development of hearing aids, the chairman of United Newspapers - soon to be renamed United News and Media - is fascinated by the communications revolution. He believes, however, that while United is happy to supply information to any superhighway, the highways should be built by someone else.

"I think we need to avoid getting too hyped up on new technology," says Stevens, who believes that printed newspapers have a considerable future, while conceding that newspaper publishers may have to cope with continuing circulation declines.

"I don't think we should get depressed about newspapers because, after all, 25 years ago everyone said newspapers would be gone by the end of the century."

"Now people are saying we can all be accessed electronically and there won't be any hard copies. I think there will be an element of that, but there will be a lot of hard copy. Newspapers will continue. They are not going to cease to exist," insists Stevens, who will be 59 next month.

Stevens took over as United chairman in 1981. Increasingly he is becoming wholly identified with the publishing group. In recent weeks he has given up two directorships - Mid-States, the automotive parts supplier, and Proudfit, the management consultancy group - and now chairs only United Newspapers, Express Newspapers and United Newspaper Publications.

During his time at United the company has changed beyond all recognition. In 1988 it was a UK regional newspaper group with pre-tax profits of £453m. By last year the group, whose interests now range from trade fairs in the far east to real estate advertising publications in the US, had pre-tax profits of £138m, although less than 25m came from the far east.

The main profit drivers in the



business last year were advertising periodicals, which had operating profits of £28m - followed by magazines and exhibitions at £27.5m. But regional newspapers still managed to contribute profit of £30m.

The group's three national news papers - Daily Express, Sunday Express and Daily Star - despite falling circulations in the face of the current price war, also made operating profits of £20m, a drop of £3m on the previous year.

Should Stevens not invest more in the national titles or sell them to someone who will? After all, between last August and January 1995 the Sunday Express lost 50,000 copies, falling to 1.83m.

The national newspapers are for sale. None of our divisions are for sale," says Stevens, adding that he would of course have to look at any serious offers that were made for the national newspapers. None has been received so far.

"We are managing our business to maximise the profits," he adds, saying he has no intention of doubling the present £20m a year spent on promotion. Instead he is looking for editorial improvements and the restructuring that modern technology and communications can offer.

For example, he wonders whether regional and national newspapers might in future be able to condense

and share journalistic resources, although he does not think a seven-day paper would necessarily be a good idea.

But as the impending group name change implies, Lord Stevens is keen to get away from talk of declining circulations and give due weight to rising profits in the other areas of the business. Business magazines and exhibitions interests have been organised under the Miller Freeman brand, the aim being to dominate a growing number of industrial sectors around the world as the company already does in leather, jewellery and, increasingly, pulp paper, and offer global advertising packages.

Stevens, who likes the relatively low capital requirements and high margins of trade shows, is also hoping to make more acquisitions in the US and expand into south America, when there is less currency instability.

It is not clear what Lord Beaverbrook would have thought of all those trade fairs. But Stevens hopes they will help improve profit margins towards a consistent 15-20 per cent. He would also like to see a more even geographic spread of profits. "We would like to have a third of the profits from the States, a third from Europe and a third from the far east."

### Law-Smith takes over as chairman of oil refiner Caltex

David Law-Smith, the British accountant who has just been named chairman of Caltex, looks set to preside over a period of rapid growth at the oil refining and marketing company, writes Richard Waters.

A joint venture between Texaco and Chevron, Caltex already has annual sales of \$14bn and claims an average market share of 18 per cent in the 51 countries in which it operates in Asia and Africa. Over the next five years, says Law-Smith, it will plough in another \$3bn of investment, doubling its capital employed, to support growth in China, India and Indonesia.

According to Law-Smith, the biggest challenge will be to make Caltex work more smoothly. He lists "people management" and "organisational structure" as two areas requiring attention. With its HQ in Dallas, half a world away from its area of operations, the company took the decision in 1986 to shift more authority to operating managers.

Now, says Law-Smith, Caltex needs to "fine-tune those changes, and give greater flexibility to people in the field." That means more emphasis on "measuring results against objectives," by looking more closely at performance measures like customer satisfaction. Oil companies have never been the greatest users of market research, he says.

Law-Smith has spent the last 18 years at Caltex in a range of financial positions, most recently chief financial officer. Picking an accountant to run the company "is a recognition that, during a period of rapid growth, strength in finance is an important ingredient," he says.

### New boss for Algeria's Sonatrach

Nazia Zouitenche, the new head of Sonatrach, Algeria's state-owned oil and gas company, takes command of the helm of the country's most vital sector at a difficult time, writes Roula Khalaf.

As Algeria's military continues to battle Islamic militants in a struggle that has already cost more

### FILM/VIDEO

**Heavenly Creatures** But debut director P J Hogan will be a talent to watch, once he has opted for one style rather than several.

Once Were Warriors is the first ever Maori feature. This, too, jumps out from the screen at us. But for suburban black comedy read slumland psychodrama, staged with feral power and panache. Disintegrating family, gang warfare, crime, violence: all the things you thought people went to New Zealand to escape. The first-time director, who will surely be back a second time, is Lee Tamahere.

On video we are fast entering the silly season. If you are planning a

than 30,000 lives, the west is carefully monitoring the effect on Sonatrach, which generates more than 90 per cent of Algeria's foreign exchange revenues.

Zouitenche, a civil engineer, becomes managing director after a 24-year career with the company, having risen through its ranks, most recently chief of staff. He has been appointed by Prime Minister Mokdad Sifi to replace Abdellah Boufa, who in the past five years has presided over Sonatrach's adoption of production sharing agreements with foreign oil companies.

Since 1989 Boufa has signed some 30 contracts with foreign companies but negotiations for other, more significant deals - such as British Petroleum's multi-billion dollar venture to explore and develop a major gas region - have yet to be wrapped up.

With an ambitious five-year investment plan of \$15bn, half expected in foreign currency, Zouitenche's main challenge will be to maintain foreign companies' interest in Algeria's oil and gas wealth in a deteriorating security climate.

Horie relinquishes LTCB presidency

The resignation of Tetsuya Horie, 63, as president of the Long Term Credit Bank of Japan (LTCB) is a blow to its reputation as one of the cleanest and most efficient of Japan's accident-prone financial institutions, writes Gerard Baker.

Horie is leaving to take responsibility for the bank's entanglements with two small financial institutions, the Tokyo Kyowa and Anzen credit unions, which were rescued by the Bank of Japan last December, having accumulated bad loans of more than Y10bn. Many of the loans were to a property company run by the president of Tokyo Kyowa, Haruhiko Takahashi, now under investigation for alleged fraud.

LTCB had close links with Takahashi, financing much of his expansive ambitions during the period of rapidly inflating property prices in the 1980s. In the ensuing property crash, LTCB was forced to write off bad loans of more than Y90bn.

More damaging for LTCB, several of its bank's affiliates provided funding for Tokyo Kyowa during the period of Takahashi's allegedly fraudulent activities. Horie initially denied that his bank had anything to do with the running of Tokyo Kyowa, but was later compelled to admit there had been some connections.

As president of the bank, Horie was required to fall on his sword in the traditional Japanese corporate way, but will stay on in an advisory capacity.

His successor as president will be Katsunobu Onogi, vice president of the bank.

## FT GUIDE TO INSURANCE AND THE ENVIRONMENT

The costs to insurance companies of global warming and environmental clean-up are in the news. Should we be worried about their security?

Not unduly at this stage, though the rising cost of natural catastrophes in particular has led to anxiety being expressed publicly by insurers at the Berlin summit on climate change about the uncertain risks to which they are exposed. The tone goes beyond insurers' usual pessimism.

Munich Re, the world's largest reinsurance company, reckons larger scale disasters are costing the insurance business 14 times as much as in the 1980s.

What about other environmental liabilities?

The cost of cleaning up polluted sites is not usually talked about by insurers in the same breath as global warming. But it is another burden they face, and their complaint is also similar: that insurance companies are being asked to act as society's financial fail guys. The big difference is that insurers can adjust the price of policies on which future weather claims will fall - but, worryingly, escalating site clean-up costs will fall on policies already sold. Last week Royal Insurance and Commercial Union, two of Britain's largest composite insurers, strongly denied a report by stockbrokers James Capel which suggested they could face "financial impairment" because of potentially huge US environmental damage claims on decades-old policies. Royal and CU disputed the basis on which the figures were calculated and said their reserves and reinsurance arrangements were more than sufficient. Yet the report highlighted the risks to insurers of US "Superfund" environmental protection legislation and adverse court rulings, which are leading to claims on old policies far in excess of that envisaged at the time they were sold.

How serious are these problems?

Scare stories seem popular among insurance sector watchers. James Capel said Royal Insurance's US environmental liabilities could conceivably exceed its market capitalisation, but such a comparison is probably meaningless, if only because claims would be paid over many years. As for natural catastrophes, Andrew Dingolecki, chief operations manager at General Accident, another composite insurer, said at a conference last week that the cost of damage to London if the Thames barrier failed in particularly adverse weather could be as much as £1bn. "It's supposed that it is possible that some people might go bankrupt," he said. But to reach that level the convergence of events required is perhaps as likely as London being hit by an asteroid. Thames flooding on a lesser scale is a risk insurers know they might face, and they should have taken steps to limit their exposure. What frightens insurers most is the prospect of an unexpected massive earthquake or wind storm somewhere in the world causing unforeseen damage and wiping out their capital.

Should policy holders be concerned?

In general, no. UK insurance companies had assets backing general non-life business of £74.8m in 1993, the last year for which figures are available. So a £10bn bill from Thames flooding would leave a great deal to spare. Defaulting on claims is a last resort. Even Lloyd's of London, which has lost about £20m in recent years, has paid valid claims throughout its troubles. UK insurers have incurred big losses before - those which sold mortgage indemnity policies lost several billions of pounds as a result of the recession - but that has not stopped record profits. If an insurer is insolvent, Britain has a policyholders' protection fund, paid for by the industry, which meets most claims. In extremis, most governments would act to prevent systemic collapse of the insurance business.

What about shareholders?

If the reaction of financial markets is a guide, they should not be alarmed. Royal and CU's shares rose last week. But investors have to balance the short-term earnings outlook against the possibility of the sky falling in.

Will insurance premiums rise?

They have risen since the early 1990s and in theory should increase further, given the threats. But a worrying trend has been the influx of capital into insurance, particularly in Bermuda, attracted by the sector's recent profitability. That has put downward pressure on prices recently. In defence, insurers say they have tightened up underwriting standards: technology allows them to assess risks street by street, giving a much better idea of possible risks and the amounts of reinsurance they need. But softening premium rates suggest either that insurers do not believe their own warnings or, more likely, that the market is failing to work properly and prices are being based on past years' experience, not future expectations.

Does that mean it will be harder to buy insurance?

Yes, in some areas, if prices do not rise sufficiently. Insurers may restrict cover either by withdrawing products or tightening policy conditions. It is already happening in some areas of the Caribbean as a result of fears about wind storms. In Britain, unlimited employees' liability policies have been withdrawn. Some fear London flood insurance might be next on the list.

Ralph Atkins

Chief Executive, Times Mirror, to provide an interview

## Brazil

on Friday, May 5

A mood of optimism is gaining ground in Brazil. A new currency has led to a sharp fall in inflation and a new President is proposing changes to modernise the economy. Hopes are justifiably high that the long years of slow growth and political upsets are over. The survey will report on the country's economy, political scene, financial markets and more.

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## FT Surveys

Jumping off screen: Once Were Warriors is the first ever Maori feature

■ It is not, strictly speaking, music, though I can well imagine excerpts from Great Parliamentary Speeches (EMD) being sampled and given a funky backbeat on the club circuit. This highly entertaining selection of memorable speeches from the first 16 years of parliamentary broadcasting is a notable reminder that it is not all whooping and droning in that august institution. Personal favourites include a vintage piece of sarcasm from Gerald Kaufman on "how to buy a

council house"; Terry "No-one gives a toss about whether the Royal Shakespeare Company stays open or closes down" Dicks on the arts; and Alan Clark making his first ministerial speech immediately after (according to his diary) a lively claret tasting "as I started, the sheer odiousness of the text sank in". War Atkinson getting together for "All My Loving".

FINANCIAL TIMES MONDAY APRIL 10 1995

GUIDE TO  
THE ENVIRONMENT

HOLD IT JC - YOU'RE WEARING  
YOUR MEET THE SHAREHOLDERS  
FACE, YOU SHOULD BE WEARING  
YOUR MEET THE WORKS COUNCIL FACE

## Entering into a new dimension

Robert Taylor offers a question-and-answer guide to European works councils and what they mean for employers and workers

**B**y the beginning of the next century around 1,500 of Europe's transnational corporations will have consultative works councils or employee consultation procedures covering an estimated 6m workers.

This is due to the passage of the European Union works council directive last September that is the most substantial industrial relations measure agreed to by member states. The UK has opted out of its provisions which come under the social chapter of the 1991 Maastricht treaty but most British transnationals are expected to fall into line over the next few years.

The proposed European works council is not an attempt to impose the famed German corporate model on the rest of European industry. It aims to provide all employees in large companies which have transnational business interests in Europe with information and consultation on corporate strategies.

Many employers dislike the directive intensely. They believe it

is both sides are exaggerating its immediate impact but the directive is going to have a wider significance, perhaps through the evolution of European Union company law. Its authors in the European Commission regard the measure as an important part of a necessary social dimension to the single integrated market. They also believe it provides a useful means for employees to achieve some reassurance in the face of global change by requiring their transnational employers to inform and consult them.

■ What kind of companies does this directive cover?

It applies to all companies and their subsidiaries described in the directive as "community-scale undertakings" - which employ at least 1,000 workers across the 14 European Union member states (except the UK) as well as the three other countries of the European Economic Area - Norway, Liechtenstein and Iceland - with at least 150 workers in the establishments in each of at least two of these states. Swiss companies are not covered by the directive.

It excludes companies that operate wholly or almost wholly in one European Union country.

The directive also applies to enterprises whose headquarters lie outside the EU such as those which are US or Japanese owned if they meet the workforce size criteria in the directive. If the company's central management is located outside the EU, a "representative agent" must be appointed from among the company's operations in the EU states. If a company fails to do this, the undertaking with the largest number of employees will be assumed to be the representative of the central management.

■ How many companies will be covered by the directive?

There is no agreement on the exact number but around 1,500 corporate groups can be expected to fall within the terms of the directive. It is estimated there are 50 known European works councils already in operation, mostly in German and French companies.

■ What are the companies covered by the directive obliged to do by law?

They have to hold negotiations with a "special negotiating body" (SNB) on creating either a works council or an information and consultation procedure if the central management of the company decides to do so or if the company is asked to do so by at least 100 workers (or their representatives) in at least two of the states affected by the directive.

■ What is the special negotiating body and what does it do? It is a committee made up of between three and 17 elected or appointed employee representatives from the various parts of the company in the member states. How they are elected or appointed will be determined according to the laws and practices of the different member states. The SNB is there to negotiate an information and consultation procedure with management or a works council. The SNB may decide not to proceed with negotiations by a two thirds majority.

■ What is contained in a voluntary agreement?

It applies to all companies and their subsidiaries described in the directive as "community-scale undertakings" - which employ at least 1,000 workers across the 14 European Union member states (except the UK) as well as the three other countries of the European Economic Area - Norway, Liechtenstein and Iceland - with at least 150 workers in the establishments in each of at least two of these states. Swiss companies are not covered by the directive.

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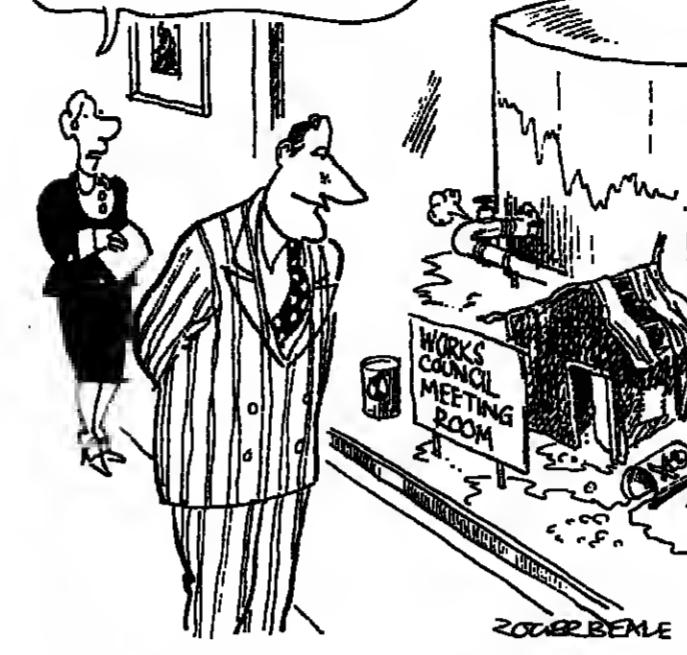
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YOU'RE NOT REALLY ENTERING INTO THE SPIRIT OF THE SOCIAL CHAPTER, ARE YOU?



ZORGBELE

collective redundancies.

The works council can also meet in the event of "exceptional circumstances affecting the employees interests to a considerable extent" such as over plant relocations, the closure of establishments or undertakings or collective redundancies.

■ Must the voluntary agreements reflect the subsidiary requirements?

No. Those concluded before the directive is fully transposed simultaneously into national law on September 22 1996 and those reached through negotiations may take whatever form the parties to the agreement want. However, under article 13 agreements reached before September 22 1996 provide for the "transnational information

■ Can the voluntary agreements reached before September 22 1996 be legally challenged after that date?

It is probable that some are likely to be tested in the courts if it is unclear whether the employees have genuinely agreed to what has been decided through authentic employee representatives. This could apply to the recent consultation agreements reached at the non-union companies - Marks and Spencer and Honda.

After September 22 1996 it will be possible for the SNB at a company to seek negotiations over creating a European works council even if another body exists by that time which the employer claims is a legitimate consultative and information body. Much will depend on how each member state decides to implement the directive in their own law.

The SNB is entitled to challenge an agreement in the domestic courts of the country where the company has the largest number of employees. However, in the case of UK companies the legal action would be in the courts of the country with the second largest number of workers employed by the company because of the UK opt-out.

■ How do trade unions fit in?

Trade unions are not mentioned by name at all in the directive but the term "employee representative" is.

This is in line with mainland European practice where employee representation is not limited to just trade union members. Article three of the directive defines "employee representative" as those "provided for by national law and/or practice".

A detailed and up-to-date study can be found in European Works Councils: Planning for the Directive. From Industrial Relations Services and the Industrial Relations Research Unit at Warwick University. Price £30.

Membership of the special negotiating body is not restricted to company employees and it is likely both full-time union officials and lay union representatives may also assist the body through a role as "experts".

A works council established under subsidiary requirements cannot include full-time union officials, only company employees. They can be helped by "experts" though member states may limit company funding to cover one expert.

■ Are UK companies exempt from the directive?

It is true the UK government's "opt-out" from the social chapter of the Maastricht treaty means UK employers do not need to implement the directive's provisions for their British employees. But the TUC has identified 109 UK-based companies who will have to comply with the directive, at least so far as their mainland European workforce is concerned. John Monks, the TUC's general secretary, believes the opt-out has "proved to be a futile gesture to Conservative dogma".

■ What about foreign-owned companies with plants in the UK?

They do not have to include their UK workers in a European works council but none so far has done so and it seems unlikely many will. There are hundreds of British subsidiaries of European companies which will be included in the works councils they have to establish under the law. It also seems probable that the 25 Japanese transnationals in the UK will soon be establishing works councils in the UK along with the US-owned companies.

■ What will happen to the directive in the UK if the Labour party wins the next general election?

The UK will opt into the social chapter of the Maastricht treaty and comply fully with the directive. It also seems likely a Labour government would introduce the legal right of employees to have workplace representation.

Strong union organisation, combined with a coherent package of legal rights for workers in Britain will benefit not only the British workforce but with effective European co-operation, strengthen the trade union movement right across European scale multinationals," says Monks.

■ Who will finance the running of the works councils or consultation and information procedures?

The companies will meet the full cost of operating expenses, including organising meetings, travelling expenses and accommodation as well as translation facilities. The directive's annex states: "The central management concerned shall provide members of the works council with such financial and material resources as enable them to perform their duties in an appropriate manner."

Rare has recently scored another first with Nintendo. Its new game Killer Instinct is the first to be produced for Nintendo's next-generation 64-bit consoles. The game is due to be released for the home market later this year, but a version recently released in games arcades has already proved an instant hit.

Rare believes that the arrival of the more powerful 64-bit consoles will add further momentum to the video games market by allowing it to create faster, more realistic, more exciting games. "There is a whole new world waiting to be explored," says Tim Stamper.

Rare, which has nearly doubled its workforce over the last year, is expanding rapidly, although earnings are volatile. Its last published accounts showed pre-tax profits of \$290,000 for the year to October 1992. Revenues from a hit product, such as Donkey Kong Country, could earn royalties of \$15m-\$20m.

It is keen to explore ways to develop the business, through strategic alliances or by moving into marketing and distribution by becoming a software publisher. That said, the Stamper brothers' interests clearly lie with their product, rather than the management challenges of taking the business into a bigger league.

Maintaining Rare's record of innovation and keeping up with the fickle tastes of adolescent games junkies is a daunting task. But the company is convinced that it can sustain its success. "The more successful we become, the more people view this as a business of the future," says Chris Stamper.

Vanessa Houlder

## The wrong time for right-spacing

**Y**ou've heard about right-sizing. Now get your mind around right-spacing.

Right-sizing is when your employer takes away your job; right-spacing seems to involve them taking away your desk.

I first came across the term last week when I was talking to a management consultant friend at Coopers & Lybrand. Every morning he gets into his right-spaced office above Charing Cross station. He goes to his cupboard, takes out his PC, his files, his photo of his wife and kids, and hugs them across the desk until he finds a spare desk. Every night he clears them away again. Soon his space will become even tighter: he will no longer have his own cupboard but will have to share it, and his desk will be allocated by computer according to a "pro-active space booking system".

He does not like right space. He calls it tight space. Yet it is not hard to see why the firm is so pleased with it: space costs have been reduced by a third. Coopers &

Lybrand is not alone to have discovered this; Arthur Andersen has completed a similar pilot scheme.

Both firms recognise that some people might not instantly take to the idea of musical desks, and have done their best to explain to employees that right space makes economic sense. They have also assured them that any savings will be reinvested in the staff, rather than going straight into the partners' pockets. Coopers and Andersen both claim that the response from employees has been enthusiastic (my friend apparently being a stubborn exception).

Still, I dread the day when the Financial Times decides it is time to right space. I don't care whether the savings pay for better computers or for costly training courses. I like my desk, and the middle around it is one of the few things at work that can be relied on. Workers in the 1990s are easily told that they do not have jobs for life, but in order to cope with the new insecurity it would be nice to be able to take

ers out of the office, having them linger on the doorstep while they have a quick gander. Just as parents may be put off a school if there is a gang of children having an illicit smoke outside the gates, so clients may not appreciate a dash through the fumes to the smoke-free marble atrium. Creating a smokers room inside is surely the answer... that is, if an extra room could be found in the right-spaced organisation.

Office planners seem to have overlooked this unfortunate side-effect of the no-smoking building. While it may be good to get smokers out of the office, having them linger on the doorstep while they have a quick gander does not look good. Just as parents may be put off a school if there is a gang of children having an illicit smoke outside the gates, so clients may not appreciate a dash through the fumes to the smoke-free marble atrium. Creating a smokers room inside is surely the answer... that is, if an extra room could be found in the right-spaced organisation.

Delaying, streamlining, introducing performance pay, giving people more control over their careers, improving training, providing outplacement services. Last week's report on the armed forces looked so predictable that I could almost have written it myself. Yet on closer inspection it turned out to be quite different from the standard management model for bringing organisations into the modern age. It recommends that delaying should start not at the middle but at the very top. Surely civilian organisations could learn from this.

Companies have discovered that they can do perfectly well without those hundreds of thousands of hard-working middle managers, so now might be the time to pitch their sights higher. Given the present level of dissatisfaction with senior management, the simplest thing to do would be to eliminate the top rank altogether.

A private hate of mine in the arcane world of management theory is the use of the flow chart. These consist of a series of bubbles containing such words as "values", "consensus-based decisions", "people and skills", linked together by a confusing system of arrows. They have become so prevalent that no self-respecting management guru would dream of presenting an idea without one. They evidently feel that a flow chart lends scientific respectability to what otherwise might seem at best a pretty subjective kind of a subject.

Yet I am now more tolerant of flow charts having met something infinitely worse: the pseudo mathematical formula. The Gallup Organisation sent me this the other day:

T\*(R+E+R)=P3, where T=talent, R=relationships, E=expectations,

R=recognition and P3=peak per person.

As far as I could make out, this equation is meant to help companies hire the right person. What a load of nonsense. Or putting it more clearly, F=M=P\*R, where F=formula, M=management, P=pretentious and R=rubbish.

Ralph A.

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## MEDIA FUTURES

# Murdoch's whole new sporting life

Nikki Tait reports as star rugby players sign to play for a pay-TV Super League

**R**upert Murdoch plays tennis for pleasure. Kerry Packer is a polo enthusiast. Yet for the past 10 days, the two Australian media magnates, together with a bevy of children, hemmings and lawyers, have been locked in a vicious scrum, fighting over the future of rugby league.

By the end of last week, Murdoch's News group was claiming victory. It maintained that its radical plan to create a new global rugby Super League had enough committed support from Australian players and coaches, and from the English and New Zealand rugby league authorities, to make the concept viable by 1997 at the latest.

"The day football changed forever" ran the headline in one enthusiastic Murdoch-owned tabloid in Australia. Shares in Kerry Packer's Publishing and Broadcasting group fell 4 per cent.

However, the Australian Rugby League establishment, whose TV deal with Packer runs to 2000, shows no sign of knuckling under, and News itself has rejected talk of a peace plan which would see rugby league split into two camps, with broadcast rights shared by Packer and Murdoch.

There is also a host of legal issues to be resolved, concerning existing "loyalty" agreements between Australian clubs, their players and the ARL. But the ARL has suffered two crutching tackles since Friday.

Directors of the New Zealand Rugby League met to discuss Murdoch's Super League proposal, and unanimously supported New Zealand's involvement. In Britain, club chairmen also endorsed the concept, voting unanimously for a planned 14-team summer European Super League starting next March, running to October and including two French teams. Some long established British clubs would be amalgamated, but then Murdoch is throwing the British sport a lifeline - its finances are rocky.

The motive behind News' ambitious strategy appears straightforward. The media group is already a major pay-TV player in Europe, through its interest in satellite broadcaster BSkyB, in which Pearson, owner of the Financial Times, has a stake. Now, as pay-TV finally becomes a reality in Australia, it has teamed up with Telstra, the large government-owned telecommunications group, and looks set to become a significant force there, too.

This joint venture, called Foxtel, envisages that Telstra

will lay a national cable network over the next four years, and that News will provide the programming to run a pay-TV service on it. Foxtel also has an alliance with Australis, which started Australia's only existing pay-TV service last January 1 and holds one of two commercially available satellite licences.

Since sports programming is one of the biggest drawcards for pay-TV subscribers, the need to secure attractive local footage is paramount. The problem is that Packer has rugby league - the most popular winter sport in key eastern states like New South Wales and Queensland - under firm control.

Thanks to the ARL deal, Packer's Channel 9 network airs the vast bulk of league programming. This, in turn, becomes a cornerstone of the network's winter schedule. Peak evening viewing hours on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, for example, are regularly devoted to screening league games.

With little hope of wresting existing rights, the Murdoch plan, which has been simmering for six months, is to create a new rugby competition, or Super League. Ironically, much the same strategy was employed by Packer when he thumbed his nose at the cricketing establishment and launched World Series Cricket in 1977.

Details of the mechanics of the new league remain imprecise. But the rough idea involves the formation of about 10 Australian teams, made up of the current playing elite. In Europe, there would be a corresponding Euro league, probably based on a series of city-oriented teams, and now likely to include France as well as Britain. These teams would first play each other in regional competitions during Australia's winter (Europe's summer). The top teams would then compete in a world-class tournament later in the year.

International support is fairly critical, giving News the chance to argue that its Super League is a qualitatively different competition from the existing 20-club competition run by the ARL. Less high-mindedly, it maintains that the international involvement may mean that players who signed loyalty agreements with the ARL last week now have a get-out proviso.

"I have been advised that where the ARL has indicated to players that they will not be able to participate in international representative games unless they sign to play with the ARL, a misrepresentation has been made to the player," notes Ken Cowley, head of News Ltd, the group's Australian arm.



New "Super" star? Welsh rugby league wizard Jonathan Davies

But the real crunch was always going to be Murdoch's ability to woo top players into the breakaway competition, or, conversely, their retention by the ARL. In recent days, the battle has been waged largely by the two magnates' chequebook-wielding offspring: 23-year-old Lachlan Murdoch and 27-year-old James Packer, both of whom are being groomed within their parents' business.

Their biggest clash came over Ricky Stuart, the Canberra Raiders' star halfback, who signed with the Super League 10 days ago. He was subsequently wined by James Packer and the ARL, but finally stuck to his original decision. This, it is said, will bring him a guaranteed income of \$A5m (US\$3.6m) over the next five years. By the end of next week around 120 players were understood to have signed with Murdoch, including most of the top Raiders and Brisbane Broncos players.

Meanwhile, at a press conference in a ritzy Sydney hotel last Thursday, Cowley gave some inkling of the financial cost of the venture. News' net revenue outlays could run to A\$100m over five years, he said - a more conservative estimate than the A\$300m widely mooted in the local press.

But some money would flow back to News through an auction of the new "club" licences. Moreover, while Foxtel and BSkyB are expected to secure the pay-TV rights to the Super League, free-to-air TV rights would be sold to the highest bidder, even if it was Packer. "We understand the anti-siphoning laws," said Cowley.

The battle is far from over, with chief executives of most ARL clubs meeting for more crisis talks on Friday. Legal ramifications aside, there are deep ruptures within rugby league in Australia.

Reaction from fans and spectators has also yet to be gauged. One fear voiced is that ticket prices will escalate for Super League games; another, that the amount of rugby coverage on "free" television will be reduced.

Perhaps all that can safely be said, after a torrid week, is that the Murdoch and Packer chequebooks seem to have the edge on almost 90 years of sporting tradition.

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Details of the mechanics of the new league remain imprecise. But the rough idea involves the formation of about 10 Australian teams, made up of the current playing elite. In Europe, there would be a corresponding Euro league, probably based on a series of city-oriented teams, and now likely to include France as well as Britain. These teams would first play each other in regional competitions during Australia's winter (Europe's summer). The top teams would then compete in a world-class tournament later in the year.

International support is fairly critical, giving News the chance to argue that its Super League is a qualitatively different competition from the existing 20-club competition run by the ARL. Less high-mindedly, it maintains that the international involvement may mean that players who signed loyalty agreements with the ARL last week now have a get-out proviso.

"I have been advised that where the ARL has indicated to players that they will not be able to participate in international representative games unless they sign to play with the ARL, a misrepresentation has been made to the player," notes Ken Cowley, head of News Ltd, the group's Australian arm.

The motive behind News' ambitious strategy appears straightforward. The media group is already a major pay-TV player in Europe, through its interest in satellite broadcaster BSkyB, in which Pearson, owner of the Financial Times, has a stake. Now, as pay-TV finally becomes a reality in Australia, it has teamed up with Telstra, the large government-owned telecommunications group, and looks set to become a significant force there, too.

This joint venture, called Foxtel, envisages that Telstra

will lay a national cable network over the next four years, and that News will provide the programming to run a pay-TV service on it. Foxtel also has an alliance with Australis, which started Australia's only existing pay-TV service last January 1 and holds one of two commercially available satellite licences.

Since sports programming is one of the biggest drawcards for pay-TV subscribers, the need to secure attractive local footage is paramount. The problem is that Packer has rugby league - the most popular winter sport in key eastern states like New South Wales and Queensland - under firm control.

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# Award list leans towards quality

The jury for this year's FT architecture competition is spoilt for choice, says Colin Amery

**W**ith spring in the air, Britain's architects should be brushing up their facades and polishing their paintwork because this newspaper's architectural jury is on the prowl.

The search is on for the winner of the Financial Times architecture award: a prize that does not bestow lottery-scale riches but offers the quiet prestige and assurance to the winner that he or she has won the one architectural award that really counts.

Since the award began in 1987 it has been treasured for one thing. It is not a prize that is awarded incestuously by the architectural profession to one of its own, nor a reward for sticking to one particular stylistic line. It is a prize given for excellence in architecture – but the kind of excellence that pleases clients and users.

The objective of the award has always been to encourage business to build better buildings. When the award started there was a real case for limiting it to the design of buildings for industry as a carrot to encourage improvement of the industrial landscape. There can be no doubt that it has achieved that aim.

Although we still live with elements of industrial pollution, there has been enormous improvement in the quality of the working environment, and architects have played their part. Indeed, it is fair to say that architects have expended more skill on the working environment than on the domestic and housing front.

However, the Financial Times architecture award is today more broadly based than hitherto, and deals with virtually any place of work or entertainment so as to reflect changes in the pattern of employment in Britain.

Factories are few and far between on the entry list today, because each year's entry reflects not just architectural changes but also changes in the nature of society. The growth of offices and the leisure industry are just two recent significant developments.

There is another special quality about the Financial Times award, and that is the jury. There are always two distinguished architects but they are balanced by the presence of a prominent businessman – a leader in his field who represents the client's interest in architecture.

This year the jury members are: Sir Philip Powell, one of the creators of the prize-winning practice of Powell and Moya; David Chipperfield, representing the younger practices; and Sir Simon Hornby, a former chairman of W H Smith and the present chairman of the Royal Horticultural Society, who has personally commissioned a number of important buildings. He was recently chairman of the Design Council and of the jury to select an architect for London's Tate Gallery Thames-side offshoot at Bankside power station.

What is impressive this year is the high quality of so many of the entries. In previous years there have been 90 to 100 entries. This year some 60 buildings have been entered,



The Cable and Wireless training college is one of the best new buildings by Richard MacCormac

but quality is much higher.

The growth of the number of commissions in the leisure sector is significant, with entries that range from a new opera house to tennis and health clubs.

Glyndebourne Opera House in Sussex, designed by Michael Hopkins and Partners,

is an example of brilliant private commissioning and of a successful process of architect selection. The quality of the interior of the new house – its use of timber and concrete – is remarkable, as is the way the new building is beginning to settle into its historic setting.

**T**he rise and rise of the out-of-town supermarket has not always led to an improvement in architectural quality, but Sainsbury, at least, is committed to that very thing. Its new store at Plymouth by Jeremy Dixon and Edward Jones has been described by our critic as representing a design renaissance for supermarkets. Its beautiful canopies of sweeping sails make it a landmark, one

that represents the last piece of fine engineering by the late Peter Rice.

In Whitechapel, London, the same company has commissioned D Y Davies to build an inner city supermarket that makes a fine contribution to a depressed area, and in Coventry, Lifschutz Davidson has given Sainsbury one of its best new stores – and a remarkable petrol station – that breaks the mould.

Transport is another area where there has been a big improvement in quality. Nicholas Grimshaw's work for the Channel Tunnel Waterloo terminal is already a London landmark. It is impressive for the sheer ingenuity of its use of a tight and difficult site. On a smaller scale, London's Docklands light railway has produced several good designs,

including Aherne Burton and Koralek's station at Beckton.

Companies like Cable and Wireless that are working at the cutting edge of communications technology have also recognised the value of good architectural design. Its new training college outside Coventry is one of the best new buildings by Richard MacCormac, a former president of the Royal Institute of British Architects. We are used to the older universities commissioning important buildings, and the new library for St John's College, Cambridge, is a bold addition by Edward Cullinan.

All these strike-breakers were due to receive a \$25,000 bonus the day the new season began, but the owners' decision not to proceed with the scab ball game within hours of the first payout and saved them a collective \$20m. So the replacements left the field of dreams and went back to waiting at table and valet parking, having attracted horrible abuse from fans and from the man whose unbelievably well-paid jobs they were taking.

Probably the only good to come out of the whole replacement saga was to push Michael Jordan back into the Chicago Bulls basketball

# Strike, you're in

## SPORT

KEITH WHEATLEY

**T**wo weeks from now baseball returns to the US after a seven-month absence. One of the most bitter labour disputes imaginable has left the national game with a timetable for resumption but precious little else.

There were no street riots,

but the "fight-to-the-death"

attitudes between owners and players reminded me of the unlikely events of 10 years ago when the coalminers shook the British government.

The 28 major league baseball teams claim to have lost

more than \$700m in revenue

during the stoppage. In turn,

the players, many of whom

scoop salaries of \$20m to \$30m

a year, say their lost wages amounted to more than \$200m. And both sides know,

that they would have

battled on but for the intervention of a federal judge.

Although the owners claimed to be anxious for peace, it soon leaked out that at their Chicago summit last weekend at least 16 hardliners voted to lock out the striking players. Only a constitution that called for a three-quarter majority on such a grave issue averted the debut of "scab-ball" as it was dubbed by the US sports media.

Basically, the owners had pulled together what were officially termed "replacement teams" – amateur and minor league players, since anyone within pitching distance of being a real professional ballplayer was in the union and on strike.

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The biggest uncertainty of all is how the fans will react when baseball arrives back in their lives. Shocked, many have displayed considerable dislike of the contempt with which both owners and play-

ers have treated them since last August.

There was a joke running around the clubs last month:

how do you tell a replacement player? Answer: he's nice to the fans. Like many a cruel gag, it had a horrible ring of truth to it. "I don't think anything has been accomplished in the past seven-and-a-half months," says the Dodgers' senior player, Mike Piazza.

"The thing is now to stick with it. If we walk out again, it's safe to say the fans will turn on us, pretty good."

## CONTRACTS & TENDERS

### REPUBLIC OF LEBANON

**COUNCIL FOR DEVELOPMENT AND RECONSTRUCTION**  
Customer Services & Billing Systems and Administrative Systems for Ministry of Post & Telecommunications  
Invitation to tender for a consultancy project for the supply of computer software, hardware and implementation and support services

### MARGINED FOREIGN EXCHANGE TRADING

Fax: Competitive Quotes 24 Hours  
Tel: +44 71 515 0400  
Fax: +44 71 529 3919

The Government of Lebanon through the Council for Development and Reconstruction (CDR) on behalf of the Ministry of Post and Telecommunications (MPT) has initiated a programme for the installations of new telephone lines and the rehabilitation of the existing network. Offers are invited from companies able to provide an integrated set of computer systems to support MPT's current and future business activities. The applications will include a Fixed Wire Customer Services and Billing voice of systems together with Financial and Human Resources package systems. The successful Tenderer will be required to provide the applications software, computer hardware, systems software, and implementation and ongoing support services. The scope is outline below:

**INVESTORS - TRADERS - CORPORATE TREASURERS**  
**SATQUOTE™** – Your single service for real time quotes: Futures \* Options \* Stocks \* Forex \* News \* Via Satellite  
LONDON +44 829 3377 NEW YORK +1 212 2494 6866 FRANKFURT +49 69 440071

**The Services:**  
Package software solutions  
The solutions offered must be based on proven packaged software. The system should offer comprehensive customisation and reporting facilities based on one of the mainframe relational database management systems. The systems offered must be able to be integrated with standard financial/administrative interfaces required. The supplier of the packages must show a commitment to further development of them not specifically funded by the purchaser.

It is essential that the system be able to offer flexible character support, both on screens and for printed output, on the printed bills.

**Hardware and Operating environment:**  
The Tenderer will provide, install and commission all computer hardware necessary to operate the system for the customer base. Preference will be given to Open Systems solution if evidence is provided that the proposed solution can cope with in excess of one million customers and the related call volumes. The hardware supplier must demonstrate the growth path for the hardware on offer.

**Implementation and support services:**

The system supplier shall take responsibility for the implementation of fully operational systems, where necessary any customisation and development of the base package facilities. The implementation approach to be adopted will be based on a phased implementation during 1995 and 1996.

The supplier will provide a full systems integration capability including implementation support, development of protocols and overall project management.

**Test/Stages:**

The Tender will be a single submission with three parts:

**Qualifications:**

Each tenderer will be required to provide qualification information at the time of the tender. This will be used to determine which tenders will be reviewed in depth. Companies without significant experience of systems integration within the Telecommunications industry are unlikely to be considered as qualified.

**Technical evaluation:**

This will only take place for qualified tenderers.

**Price evaluation:**

Price information will only be referenced for the short-listed tenderers following the technical evaluation.

**Implementation:**

Price information will only be referenced for the short-listed tenderers following the technical evaluation.

**Timeline:**

The Tenderer will be required to provide a timeline for the implementation of the system.

**Payment:**

Over 90% of the payment will be made in instalments.

**Delivery:**

The Tenderer will be required to provide a delivery date for the system.

**Guarantees:**

The Tenderer will be required to provide a guarantee for the system.

**Other:**

The Tenderer will be required to provide other information as requested by the CDR.

**Information:**

The Tenderer will be required to provide information on the system.

**Support:**

The Tenderer will be required to provide support for the system.

**Training:**

The Tenderer will be required to provide training for the system.

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Fraud revealed in Peru election  
By Sally Bowen in Lima

FINANCIAL TIMES MONDAY APRIL 10 1995 \*



**LONDON**  
The crowds will be out on Thursday when Luciano Pavarotti (left) returns to the Royal Opera House for a revival of "Un ballo in maschera". This middle-period Verdi opera has proved one of the most congenial for Pavarotti in the past and a reasonably strong supporting cast is on hand this time round.

At the Riverside Studios, a three-month season of Moving Theatre under the aegis of Vanessa (right) and Corin Redgrave begins this week with a Bosnian production of "Silk Drums". Vanessa's own performances, which include her third shot at Cleopatra, begin next week.

The new Frank McGuinness version of "Uncle Vanya" reaches England today after a tour of Ireland. As seen at its premiere, this was a contained account of Chekhov's play. Stephen Rea takes the title role; Peter Gill directs.



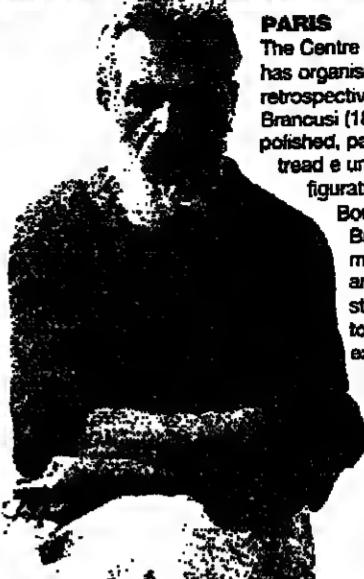
**VIENNA**  
The 1840 premiere of "Un giorno di regno" (King for a Day), Verdi's second opera, was a fiasco, and it has been rarely heard since. This week's German-language revival at the Volksoper

aims to breathe new life into the work's old-fashioned libretto and unconvincing burlesque style. The conductor is Asher Fisch, the producer Helmut Polka, and the cast is headed by Renato Bruson. First night is on Thursday.

**NEW YORK**  
On Friday the Metropolitan Museum of Art presents a collection of photographs by Nadar, the celebrated portraitist of mid-19th century Paris.

Although Nadar was active as a photographer for merely a decade (1854-65), he created some of the most memorable images that survive from the innovative early years of photography. The exhibition includes prints which have never been seen outside France.

**ROTTERDAM**  
Over the past century the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum has assembled an extensive collection of oriental porcelain, much of which is seldom displayed. An exhibition opening on Friday includes objects of exceptional quality and rarity, mostly imported to the Low Countries from China and Japan in the 17th and 18th centuries. The show will underline how oriental porcelain influenced the development of Delft pottery and other aspects of Dutch decorative art.



**PARIS**  
The Centre Georges Pompidou has organised the first French retrospective of Constantin Brancusi (1876-1957), whose polished, pared-down sculptures treat a unique line between abstraction and figurative art.

Born in Romania, Brancusi (left) spent most of his life in Paris and bequeathed his studio and its contents to the French state. The exhibition, comprising more than 100 sculptures, drawings and photographs, opens on Friday and will move to the Philadelphia Museum of Art in October.

**Openings**

**Outrage** is the only reasonable response to a new catalogue of Impressionists and other 19th-century French paintings suddenly exhibited at the Hermitage in St Petersburg.

The extended entries in *Hidden Treasures Revealed* by Albert Kostenevich (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, £30) are scholarly, the illustrations illuminating and the translation from Russian to English largely felicitous, its Americanisms rare. But these are minor matters, for the 74 pictures do not belong to the Hermitage are not on loan to it, and are not even old acquisitions by the Bolsheviks from wealthy Russian merchants, but are war booty, all but one of them stolen from German private collections.

After half a century of silence, letting the world believe them destroyed, the authorities in St Petersburg have plucked them like plums from Jack Horner's pie, and justify their putting them on view with arguments that must astonish and appal all who read the catalogue.

The director of the museum, Dr Mikhail Petrovsky, writes with a casuistry that would baffle that of any Jesuit of a "unique sense of discovery... in this historic exhibition". It is historic only in his impertinence in mounting it with such dissembling. He writes not of theft, pillage, loot or booty, but of "relocation" in accordance with "appropriate instructions from the authorities"; of pictures "moved to the Soviet Union", and of his museum as "charged with providing safe conditions", making it clear that these acquisitions were not by impetuous response to ad hoc conditions, but by careful planning, yet saying nothing of the true circumstances.

The truth is that in 1945 the Russians appointed a group of authorised plunderers, the *Trophäen Organisation*, under a Major Grigoriev, with instructions to remove important pictures to Russia. All the German museum authorities affected were given to understand that the removal was permanent – and so, in many cases, it has proved.

Petrovsky argues that as the war drew to its close, the western Allies, as well as the Russians, removed works of art from Germany, or took them under their protection – the lame "everybody did it" argument of schoolboys.

The truth is that the American occupation authorities collected every work of art under their jurisdiction in a depot at Wiesbaden, and the British at Celle, and nothing was removed from the country (apart from whatever it was that Anthony Blunt rescued for the King, the removal of the Brunswick treasures to the Tower of London and the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the small mystery of Hanoverian treasures – but these were all private matters with royal connections).

Petrovsky's second schoolboy excuse is that the Germans did it first and worst, not only in removing works of art by train and truck,

but in the deliberate destruction of cathedrals and churches, palaces and public buildings, and their immovable treasures.

As examples of Russian magnanimity, he quotes the decision in 1955 to return paintings taken from the Dresden Gallery. But he ignores the motive of reward for the lick-spittle loyalty of East German politicians and the propagandists who claimed that their Russian allies had rescued them from appalling conditions (not true, for they had been stored in much the same way as those evacuated from the National Gallery in London), and overlooked the damages and losses that had occurred during their transport to Russia – paintings by Courbet, Cranach, Brueghel, Gericke, Dosso Dossi et al, more than 150 of them.

We are led to understand that this exhibition is no more than a peek into the vast treasury of thefts from German museums and collections still stored in Russia. Petrovsky boasts that their sequestering

for decades has protected these paintings from the "energetic restoration" that has in the west ruined so many of their ilk, and that their undisturbed condition enables us to see them as their painters intended. He claims that in exhibiting them he pays homage to "the remarkable collectors who sought out and cherished these works"; but he abjures all responsibility even for an opinion on their restitution with "it is not for me to go into the legal issues involved".

Some may argue that to have retained their pictures until 1945, Otto Krebs, Alice Meyer, Friedrich Siemens and the families of Bernhard Koehler and Otto Gerstenberg must have been supporters of the Nazis. But Siemens lost his collection in 1944 when his brother-in-law was executed for his part in the plot to assassinate Hitler, the Meyer family was Jewish, and Gerstenberg had been a close friend of the Jewish painter Max Liebermann.

We know nothing of any of these collectors to connect them with the Nazis, but even if we did, such an allegiance cannot be used to justify the theft of private property, which is protected by Article 46 of the rules governing land warfare determined by the Hague Convention of 1907, to which Russia is a signatory. Much is claimed for this exhibition, even that it is so significant that we must reconsider the whole history of impressionism. But this is nonsense, for both Christie's and Sotheby's have since the war mounted auctions at least the equal of these collections, and there is little to astonish old hands in the field.

Krebs, the most accumulative of the collectors, appears to have had a taste for plump young women that blinded his eye for quality in paint – his Renoirs are embarrassingly bad – and his taste for flowers was worse, with Renoir again at fault, and a Fantin-Latour of flattened peonies that is a ludicrous dupe. He bought wretched things by

Vuillard, Manet, Marquet and Matisse, and one of his Van Gogh is bad enough to be mistaken for Urullo.

But his eye for Cézanne was far from uncertain, and his early Picasso of an absinthe drinker (a boy, not a girl, as catalogued) was a sure and daring purchase.

The two finest pictures, however, both by Degas, belonged to others – to Simeone a melancholy interior with figures, and to Gerstenberg an astonishing and beautiful townscape, the "Place de la Concorde", with a gaunt figure on the left setting the scale and framing the composition like the columns of a giant Order on a Roman temple.

These pictures cannot be returned to their former owners, for all are now dead; if their heirs cannot be traced, then they should be returned to German museums; they do not belong to the Hermitage and should never again disappear into the dungeons of St Petersburg, lost for another half century, of no advantage even to the thieves.

7.30pm; Apr 11, 14, 16 (3pm)  
**THEATRE**  
Petit Odéon Tel: (1) 44 412 36 36  
● Cat and Mouse (Sheep): written and directed by Gregory Motton, a satirical look at present-day England. In English, this is the first in a season of English plays at this venue; 6.30pm; to Apr 23

7.30pm; Apr 11, 14, 16 (3pm)  
**CONCERTS**  
Champs Elysées Tel: (1) 49 52 50 50

● Philharmonic Orchestra of St. Petersburg: with violinist Martha Argerich; Youn Temirkhanov conducts Prokofiev; 8.30pm; Apr 12

● Philharmonic Orchestra of St. Petersburg: with violinist Shlomo Mintz, Youn Temirkhanov conducts Prokofiev; 8.30pm; Apr 13

● Philharmonic Orchestra of St. Petersburg: with mezzo-soprano Eugénie Gorokhowska and the London Symphony Chorus. Youn Temirkhanov conducts Prokofiev; 8.30pm; Apr 14

● National Symphony Orchestra: with conductor/violinist Iona Brown plays Strauss, Haydn, Vaughan Williams and Mozart; 8.30pm; Apr 15

Gallerie Schmit Tel: (1) 42 60 36 36

● From Delacroix to Matisse: exhibition including the works of Picasso and Degas; to Apr 13

**OPERA/BALLET**  
Opéra National de Paris, Bastille Tel: (1) 47 42 57 50

● Lucia di Lammermoor: by Donizetti. A new production by Andre Serban. Maurizio Benini and Roberto Alagna (from April) conduct the orchestra and chorus of the Paris National Opera;

essence of intimate quotidian reality in this prosaic downstair's uproar, as is absent from the Garter Inn, that is absent from the more profound and refined marvels of the verse scenes elsewhere.

And partly it is that the first of these late-night songs – "O mistress mine" – is still in our thoughts, basking tenderly in the air where Feste left it, with its "Carpe diem" philosophy of "Present mirth hath present laughter" and "Youth's a stuff will not endure". Toby Belch and Andrew Aguecheek are spending their lives no more fruitfully than the noble and lovesick Cesario.

Orsino and Olivia, but they are every bit as human and lovable.

Judge's staging – designed by John Gunter and Deirdre Clancy to take place in Illyria-upon-Avon – has warmth, and time and feeling. It shows the full value of music and silence. Briefly, though, it is often too cosy and too charming, and both of its two most distinguished performances – Desmond Barrit's huge, prone-faced, Welsh-valley Malvolio and Emma Fielding's tiny, vulnerable, brave Viola – have lost freshness.

Barrit, great comedian, oozes shamelessly milk his great scene with the letter à la Frankie Howerd, whose art he often recalls; and Fielding, whose vowel sounds vary, distractingly, like Eliza Doolittle in mid-training and whose entry into words is still sometimes uncouth, has also started to wait for laughs, to prolong pauses, and to over-use the immense charm of her eyes and voice.

The whole production needs to be tightened up, for technical reasons as well as actor discipline. And – while I am at it – this is the third time in four months that Nigel Hess's offstage musical accompaniment for the Barbican RSC production has sounded like pre-recorded film music. One note from those amplified strings and the production starts to travel souilly towards Hollywood.

And yet there are worse sins than charm and cosiness. No doubt there are those who can resist the Andrew Aguecheek of Billie Brown. He is sometimes too audience-conscious, and he overdoes the stick of trying to curl his flaxen hair. But off the way he gleefully yet bashfully tries out a dance step, half-tumbls down the stairs, says, "I was adored once too" in sudden sobriety... Everything about him is hopeless and adorable.

In RSC repertory at the Barbican Centre.

## Hidden treasures with an open secret

Brian Sewell on the story behind the Hermitage's Impressionist exhibition



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## INTERNATIONAL ARTS GUIDE

### BALTIMORE

**THEATRE**  
Center Stage Tel: (410) 685 3200  
● Hannah Senesh: written and directed by David Schechter, music composed and arranged by Steven Lutvak. An adaptation of diaries and poems by a Hungarian Jewish woman in Nazi occupied territory; 8pm; to Apr 23 (Not Mon)

### BERLIN

**OPERA/BALLET**  
Deutsche Oper Tel: (030) 34384-01  
● Aida: by Verdi. Conductor Stefan Soltész, production by Götz Friedrich; 7pm; Apr 14  
● L'italiana in Algeri: by Rossini. Conducted by Jon Marrin/Carlo Rizzi, produced by Jérôme Savary; 7.30pm; Apr 12  
● Magic Flute: by Mozart. Conducted by Lawrence Foster/Sebastian Lang-Lessing/Stefan Soltész and produced by Günter Krämer; 7pm; Apr 18  
● Onegin: music by Tchaikovsky. Premiere at this venue, choreographed by John Cranko,

produced by Reid Anderson and Jane Bourne; 7.30pm; Apr 11, 15  
Staatsoper unter den Linden Tel: (030) 200 4762

● Der Rosenkavalier: by Strauss. Nicolas Briege directs this new production. The sets are designed by Raimund Bauer and Donald Ruhmies conducts; 6.30pm; Apr 13

### BONN

**GALLERIES**  
Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle Tel: (0228) 9171 236

● Russian Museum of St. Petersburg: third in "The Great Collections" series. The museum in St. Petersburg houses a collection of 500,000 works from which 500 have been selected for this exhibition to represent 500 years of Russian art and culture; to Aug 13 (not Mon)

### LONDON

**CONCERTS**

Barbican Tel: (0171) 638 8891

● City of London Sinfonia: with soloists Rosa Mannoni, Sally Burgess, Matthew Best and the Holt Singers. Harry Christophers conducts Bach's "Magnificat" and Mozart's "Requiem"; 7.30pm; Apr 13

● Royal Philharmonic Orchestra: with soprano Christine Brewer. Jane Glover conducts Schoenberg, Strauss and Mozart; 7.30pm; Apr 13

● Yo-Yo Ma: cellist with the London Symphony Orchestra. Sir Colin Davis conducts Tippett and Elgar while Leon Kirchner conducts the UK premiere of his own "Music for Cello and Orchestra"; 7.30pm; Apr 12

● Magic Flute: by Mozart. Conducted by Lawrence Foster/Sebastian Lang-Lessing/Stefan Soltész and produced by Günter Krämer; 7pm; Apr 18

● Onegin: music by Tchaikovsky. Premiere at this venue, choreographed by John Cranko,

Queen Elizabeth Hall Tel: (0171) 926 8800  
● Camilla Quartet: with pianist Andreas Haefliger plays Beethoven, Debussy and Brahms; 7.45pm; Apr 10

Royal Festival Hall Tel: (0171) 928 8800

● Bach: St. Matthew Passion: with the Bach Choir and the English Chamber Orchestra. Sir David Willcocks conducts; 7.45pm; Apr 11

● London Choral Society: Jane Glover conducts Handel's "Messiah"; 8pm; Apr 14

● Piano, Orchestra and Band: Martin Brabbins conducts the Michael Nyman Band. The Philharmonia Orchestra and pianist Kathryn Stott plays Nyman's "The Piano Concerto" and the UK's premiere of "MGV-Musique Grande Vitesse"; 7.30pm; Apr 13

GALLERIES Tate Tel: (0171) 887 8000

● British Sporting Art: this special display from the collection focuses on the flourishing of sporting and animal painting in Britain from around 1720 to 1850; from Apr 11 to Jul 2

● OPERA/BALLET English National Opera Tel: (0171) 632 8300

● Don Giovanni: a new production of Mozart's opera. House

# A strategy for dollar revival

If Washington policy makers decide, belatedly, that a stronger dollar is a priority, what can they do to promote it? The obvious answer is to tighten monetary policy. Yet given last week's disturbingly soft economic data, the propitious moment for a rate increase may have passed. Action now would do little for the dollar and might trigger a sell-off in domestic equity markets, with unpredictable consequences.

A better approach would be to articulate a longer-term economic strategy that addresses investors' reservations about the US. The first and most important step would be to tackle the root cause of dollar weakness: low national savings.

The Clinton administration has admittedly taken modest steps to reduce the federal deficit, which is down even after adjusting for cyclical factors. And the focus on Capitol Hill will shortly shift from tax cuts to spending cuts. Newt Gingrich and his Republican troops are likely to prove more enthusiastic deficit-cutters than marksmen suspect.

Yet even if Congress and the White House do agree a credible medium-term deficit reduction plan (which is by no means certain), private-sector saving needs to be stimulated. The best solution would be bipartisanship commitment to radical tax reform.

Given Republican interest in the idea, Mr Clinton might be able to strike a deal to replace income tax with a "consumed-income" tax, calibrated to raise the same revenue as current taxes while exempting all forms of saving. Such a tax would sharply increase personal incentives to save. Over time it would bring domestic investment and savings into better balance and thus help reduce the external deficit.

A second, related way to restore confidence would be to send a clearer signal that Washington cares about external deficits. In a world of mobile capital, current account deficits are to be expected: there is no reason to keep domestic saving and investment perfectly in balance. But a persistent external deficit -



MICHAEL PROWSE  
on  
AMERICA

growth.

But the Fed's future is uncertain: Mr Greenspan's term expires early next year and Mr Clinton may not ask him to stay on. There is thus a case for heading Republican calls for a change in the Fed's terms of reference, making price stability its sole goal. At present it has to balance growth and inflation objectives, creating risks if a less hawkish chairman succeeds Mr Greenspan.

"There is now a lot of debate, inside and outside the monarchy, says another member of the royal family. "But what is being discussed is the speed of reform; what to change, how to do it, how to package it and what is done to reassure overseas creditors."

Looking beyond cyclical blips in demand, the strongest plus for the dollar is the vitality of US industry. After painful restructuring in the past decade corporate America is arguably in better shape than at any time since the 1950s. Capital spending has contributed more to this upturn than to any in recent memory. Non-residential fixed investment has risen 40 per cent in real terms since early 1991. Profits have soared. And exporters have regained market share in many sectors.

The significance of a recent acceleration in productivity growth is disputed, but Mr Greenspan is not alone in arguing that an industrial renaissance is under way. He made clear in recent congressional testimony that efficiency gains are almost certainly not a transient phenomenon. And he pointed out that the US has regained its edge in many high-technology sectors after faltering in the 1970s. In computer software, for example, the US now possesses a decisive global lead.

Taking steps to increase the credibility of US monetary policy would be a third way to boost confidence. Under Alan Greenspan, the Fed has established a fine track record: US prices have risen less rapidly than German prices in recent years despite much faster US

growth. The man who spoke first in the debate was an Egyptian Marxist. It was midnight in a wedding hall on the outskirts of Riyadh, and our host was a Saudi prince who had invited 100 intellectuals - a quarter of them from other Arab countries - to put their views on the politics, religion and culture of Saudi Arabia and the kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Such open debate was "rarer than rain" in a society ruled on feudal lines by an absolute monarchy, a Palestinian academic observed, ignoring the freak showers that had just brought the desert into bloom. The prince's unique, if informal, *majlis* was a sign that something is stirring in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

"There is now a lot of debate, inside and outside the monarchy, says another member of the royal family. "But what is being discussed is the speed of reform; what to change, how to do it, how to package it and what is done to reassure overseas creditors."

The House of Saud, which forged the modern Saudi Arabia in 1932 after a series of conquests, has overcome many challenges to its hegemony. It has managed the sudden arrival of great wealth from its ownership of a quarter of the world's oil reserves, followed by a downward spiral in oil prices; the import of foreign labour equivalent to a third of the population; the 1979 seizure of the great mosque at Mecca by Islamist zealots, and the annual influx of 2m Muslim pilgrims. Including organised partisans of Iran's Islamic revolution; and the 1981 Gulf war, with the socially and politically discomfiting presence of some 90,000 foreign troops on Saudi soil.

"If you have looked at the emergencies and dislocation this country has been through since the 1950s - and you didn't know the outcome - you would surely have concluded that [the Saudi state] had not survived," smiles one middle-ranking member of the royal family. "But I agree that the challenge is not over, in some respects, it is just beginning."

For years, the Al-Saud have monopolised power and, in return, provided a subsidised livelihood for the masses and an affluent lifestyle for the elite. Now, however, the Al-Saud grip on power is taut with unresolved tensions. Saudis are better educated and increasingly demanding, at a time when the government's reflex response of throwing money at the least twitch of discontent is finally being con-

# Seed of democracy in the desert

David Gardner detects a softening in the Saudi Arabian monarchy's absolute grip on power



Ancient and modern: young Saudi children before a computer image of a mosque. Peter Dow

strained by the effects of a decade of fiscal deficits.

So oil prices have led to a shortage of cash. Last year and this, the government decreed severe budget cuts to reduce the deficit from around 9 per cent of gross domestic product in 1994 to about 4 per cent by the end of 1995. It has also delayed or rescheduled payments to foreign and Saudi contractors, and sharply raised hitherto minimal local fees for power, petrol, water, telephones and domestic flights.

"We were living in a fat environment," says Mr Abdul-Rahman al-Zamil, deputy trade minister.

But there is little room for manoeuvre. Foreign assets have been run down to \$65bn (£40.6bn) - about half pre-Gulf War levels or a third of holdings a decade ago - and these are illiquid. The kingdom spent up to \$80bn underwriting the Gulf war and is committed to \$80bn in capital outlays, two-thirds of it on weapons, worsening a 10-year-old trend of large current account deficits.

Government officials rightly point to achievements in developing infrastructure and diversifying away from crude oil production to petrochemicals, plastics and other industries. Mr al-Zamil says \$16bn in spending cuts last year were "replaced" by an increase in private-sector investment of \$16bn, keeping growth marginally positive. But domestic growth does not supply the government with revenue, almost all of which comes from oil.

The Saudi regime is to some extent a victim of its successes. In the last 25 years, half a million Saudis educated abroad have been exposed to outside influences, and the government has imposed education for a generation of women, who nevertheless remain invisible under the austere Islamic social code, segregated in public and at work. Civil service pay structures have not been changed for 14 years, making many young Saudis dependent on extended families to get by. "This is a society in ferment," a western diplomat says.

Although tough decisions lie ahead - such as whether to introduce wider taxation and a mooted mini-budget with a further 4 per cent spending cut on top of 19 per cent in 1994 and 6 per cent this year - there is no effective mechanism for consultation. Two years ago King Fahd created a Majlis-al-Shura (consultative council) to fill this vacuum. But although its 60 members are highly educated, they are nominated by the king, who may ignore them.

Policy-making can be hesitant, with public opinion tested only after a new policy has

been announced. "You get the input to policy-making at the point of output," says one academic, referring to the frequent withdrawal of edits once they are found to antagonise particular interest groups. Four years ago, a decree levying income tax on foreigners was revoked within 48 hours when it became clear that hospitals and universities dependent on them would grind to a halt.

Opinions differ on the risks the monarchy might take on reform. The most unexpected speaker at that weekend-long debate was Mr Ahmed el-Ya'ariri, one of the kingdom's most articulate dissidents, imprisoned in 1993 as a signature of the first of half a dozen petitions to the king, calling, among other things, for elections to the Majlis al-Shura and an end to corruption. After softening up his audience with a risqué joke and some verse, he advocated pluralism, without calling the monarchy into question.

As one Islamist reformer puts it: "We have advanced materially, while retreating intellectually. [Elections] are an absolute necessity to preserve social cohesion and prevent breakdown. Some of our conceptions are simply wrong. There is nothing in our religion that says women can't participate fully in society. It is more a question of tradition."

Such voices underline that the traditional religious establishment has fallen into discredit because of its slavish adherence to the monarchy, and that younger religious leaders must be brought into the debate on reform; if they are excluded, they may fall under the spell of the fundamentalists who urge the Al-Saud to live up to their severe Wahhabi brand of Islam.

But as one experienced diplomat in the kingdom warns, "reform implies reformers, it implies organisations, and there is no tolerance here for that". The government has cracked down on fundamentalists, while giving free rein to the Motawa, or religious police, to enforce social conformity.

"We are trying to provide the objective situation for gradual change," says one liberal prince, who acknowledges that "one of the obstacles to change is that we are co-opting the fundamentalists. The Motawa you see in the streets is part of that". Elections, and the integration of women into public life, "will eventually happen", he believes. King Fahd, he says, "takes time to make up his mind".

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Number One Southwark Bridge, London SE1 9HL

We are keen to encourage letters from readers around the world. Letters may be faxed to +44 171 373 5938 (please set fax to 'line'). Translation may be available for letters written in the main international languages.

### Technology way out

From Mr S.L. Sidkin.

Sir, The proposed EU technology transfer regulation has the ability to cause European business great harm ("New tangos for red tape", April 4). But for companies which are contemplating a know-how licence agreement there remains a limited escape route.

The proposed regulation will provide transitional relief. It will not replace the existing know-how licence block exemption regulation until December 31 1999. Companies will not have to worry about the proposed new market share tests if they can meet the requirements of the present regulation. The only disadvantage is that by that date either the commercial need for the agreement must have ended or the parties will need to decide whether and, if so, how to approach the European Commission.

For the future it is hoped that the Commission learns from its folly in planning for the replacement at the end of 1997 of the block exemption regulations for distributorship and purchasing agreements.

S.L. Sidkin,  
Fox Williams,  
solicitors,  
City Gate House,  
39-45 Finsbury Square,  
London EC2A 1UU,  
UK

There have been very few

### False views that explain failure over former Yugoslavia

From Mr Otto von Habsburg MEP.

Sir, If one needed additional proof for the reasons of the dismal failure of the international community in former Yugoslavia, it is furnished to us by Michael Williams's article "Why Croatia must win Serb hearts" (Personal View, April 7). Having been in Croatia, but also in Bosnia, Slovenia and Macedonia many times in recent years, I want to rectify certain of his questionable statements, mainly due to omission of significant facts.

Mr Williams says not a single word about the fact that the so-called Republic of Serb Krajina was created due to the

invasion of this area by the Serb-dominated federal army and, in its wake, the Chetnik forces from Serbia.

He gives no indication of the fact that in the Croatian army 18 per cent of the volunteers are Serbs from Croatia - the national group which has given the highest percentage of fighters to Croatia. They are among the best in the defence of their homeland - Croatia.

In the Croatian Sabor (parliament) there are 11 elected Serb members and one of the vice-presidents of the parliament is a Serb from Knin.

Nearly half a million have

represent their largest liabilities.

As part of the introduction of the new measure, the government should issue guidelines to the Revenue and Customs and Excise to look more favourably on this and existing procedures. To do so would save thousands of jobs and thereby generate further revenues for the Treasury.

Michael Pearl,  
14 De Vere Gardens,  
Kensington,  
London W8 5AE, UK

### Government lead would save more companies

From Mr Michael Pearl.

Sir, The UK government has announced a new procedure for aiding companies akin to Chapter 11-style protection in the US ("Radical plan for company rescue", April 6).

One of the principal problems with the procedure will be that it requires a 75 per cent majority of creditors by value to approve it. This is the same hurdle that is required for a corporate voluntary arrangement (CVA).

This lack of support by what are, in practice, other branches of the government is also likely largely to frustrate the new scheme. Small companies in particular will be prevented from using the scheme because the crown creditors usually

CVAs approved by creditors. The majority of these proposed arrangements fail because the Inland Revenue and Customs and Excise invariably vote against such proposals or, at best, do not bother to vote.

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# FINANCIAL TIMES

Monday April 10 1995

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## US group buys majority stake in Russian fund

By John Thornhill in Moscow

Pioneer Investments, the US fund management group, is living up to its name by becoming the first foreign investor to buy a majority stake in one of Russia's voucher investment funds.

The deal's architects say it could have a significant impact on the development of Russia's retail savings industry, bolstering the government's efforts to mobilise domestic capital for corporate investment.

On Saturday, Pioneer won the overwhelming approval of the 2.1m shareholders in the First Investment Voucher Fund, the largest in Russia, to buy a 51 per cent stake in the fund. The investment, costing \$15m, will give Pioneer management control of the fund's assets, bank and brokerage business. It will also provide access to a large retail infrastructure through which Pioneer hopes it could market US-style mutual funds in future.

Mr Timothy Frost, president of Pioneer's Moscow office, said: "This deal provides us with a

business which could form the basis of a retail distribution network and a full-scale financial services company."

The Russian fund, which was formed to manage the investment vouchers distributed during the first phase of privatisation, has large shareholdings in 180 Russian companies, as well as investments in government debt instruments and commercial properties.

Many of the voucher funds set up at that time have since defrauded investors, revealing themselves to be little more than front companies for criminal gangs. But First Investment Voucher Fund has a reputation as one of the most respectable and transparent funds. Pioneer spent nine months negotiating the deal and conducted extensive due diligence.

Pioneer has been active in other emerging economies such as the Czech and Slovak republics and India and attracted \$1bn of domestic savings from 500,000 shareholders in Poland after it launched a mutual fund there.

three years ago. The Polish fund has had a big influence on the development of the local capital markets and at one time held up to 10 per cent of the domestic national debt.

But Mr Frost said Pioneer would not launch mutual funds in Russia until the "harmful" tax regime had been changed. He said the stock market infrastructure also needed to be developed before mutual funds could operate with confidence.

Mr Mukhall Kharshan, chairman of the voucher fund's management committee, recommended the deal to shareholders. "We believe that this partnership will strengthen our position in the Russian investment market," he told a packed shareholders' meeting, which lasted nine hours.

The Russian fund's directors said they expected a significant inflow of money after the deal was closed tomorrow. The deal does not need regulatory approval although it has been informally discussed with government officials.

## UK Tory quits after claims of sexual misconduct

By John Kampfner in London

UK prime minister John Major's week-old relaunch of his government suffered a severe setback yesterday as another senior MP was forced to resign after allegations of sexual impropriety.

Mr Richard Spring, 48, said he was standing down as parliamentary private secretary to Sir Patrick Mayhew, Northern Ireland spokesman, after a report in the Sunday tabloid newspaper, the News of the World.

The loss of the 17th member of his government over accusations of sexual, financial or other misconduct undermined Mr Major's efforts to stave off humiliating losses in local council elections in England and Wales next month. Having seen their party lose control of every council in Scotland last week, Conservative backbench MPs are preparing for a similar trouncing on May 4.

But cabinet ministers rallied round Mr Major, dismissing talk of an immediate leadership challenge. Mr Michael Howard, home affairs spokesman, said: "Three years ago today the prime minister led us against all the odds to an election victory that no one expected us to win."

He added, on the BBC's *Breakfast With Frost* programme: "If it weren't for John Major we wouldn't be in government today. He won that general election. I think he's going to take us to victory in the next general election too."

Mr Douglas Hurd, foreign secretary, admitted the Conservatives were in deeper trouble than before. Recalling the last leadership contest after Lady Thatcher's enforced resignation in 1990, Mr Hurd said Mr Major was an admirable prime minister. "I tried to be prime minister in his place... he beat me. I work with him, he's very good at it." Mr Hurd said on LWT's *Jonathan Dimbleby* programme. "The other thing I know is that he's more popular than his party."

Several prominent backbenchers said they were not aware of a campaign by disgruntled colleagues to force the prime minister out by calling for a leadership contest. They also dismissed the idea that Mrs Gillian Shephard, education secretary, had indicated she was prepared to run in a leadership race.

However some MPs said Mr Major's much-vaunted relaunch at mini-conference last weekend had failed to address core problems.

Mr William Cash, a leading Euro-sceptical MP, suggested Mr Major was wrong in pointing to divisions over Europe as the reason for the electoral debacle.

You win elections by having policies that command support of the public," Mr Cash said. "It's quite clear that at the moment we don't."

## British MPs seek sweeping powers for fair trade body

By James Blitz in London

A prominent committee of British MPs is to recommend that the operations of the Office of Fair Trading and the Monopolies and Mergers Commission should be overhauled, arguing both are ineffective in stamping out restrictive trade practices in the UK.

After the recent controversy caused by Sir Bryan Carsberg's resignation as director general of fair trading, the all-party House of Commons trade and industry committee is to call for the OFT to be given sweeping executive powers to investigate alleged breaches of UK trading law and to impose spot fines on companies which persistently abuse market power.

The report, due to be published after the Commons returns from its Easter break, will recommend that the OFT should become a more pro-active body with powers similar to those enjoyed by

its current practices, such as random investigative surveys of trading across certain sectors.

The report will go some way towards meeting Sir Bryan's criticisms of Britain's regulatory framework. Sir Bryan, who announced last year his decision to step down early from his post-called for the MMC and the OFT to be scrapped to bring Britain into line with international practices.

Under the present regulatory framework, the OFT investigates whether companies are involved in restrictive practices. It then refers alleged breaches of the rules to the MMC, with a final decision on the case being taken by government ministers.

But the committee is to recommend that the OFT should be equipped with teams of permanent officials, each of which would police activities across particular areas of industry. These officials would develop a body of existing case law, allowing them to judge whether restrictive practices were in operation and take direct action to remove them.

The report will recommend that the OFT continues some of

the European Union's, US, Canada and several individual EU states all prohibited certain kinds of anti-competitive behaviour, and he would favour adopting the prohibition approach in the UK.

He said he would relinquish his post next month after it became clear the government was not planning to include reform of competition law in its parliamentary legislation this year.

## EU currency

Continued from Page 1

single currency the Ecu, because the present Ecu has been losing its value steadily against the D-Mark.

Mr Kenneth Clarke, Britain's chancellor of the exchequer, said it would take years before the European public start using the Euro-coins. But he left open whether Britain would exercise its treaty opt-out in 1995, and pledged to play a constructive role in technical preparations for Euro.

## Japanese local elections

Continued from Page 1

Keidanren business federation, called on political parties to take the outcome seriously and seek to regain public trust.

Yesterday's result suggests that Japan's political upheavals may not be over. Last June's arrival of a coalition government had appeared to mark a pause in the dismantling of the collusive old power structure.

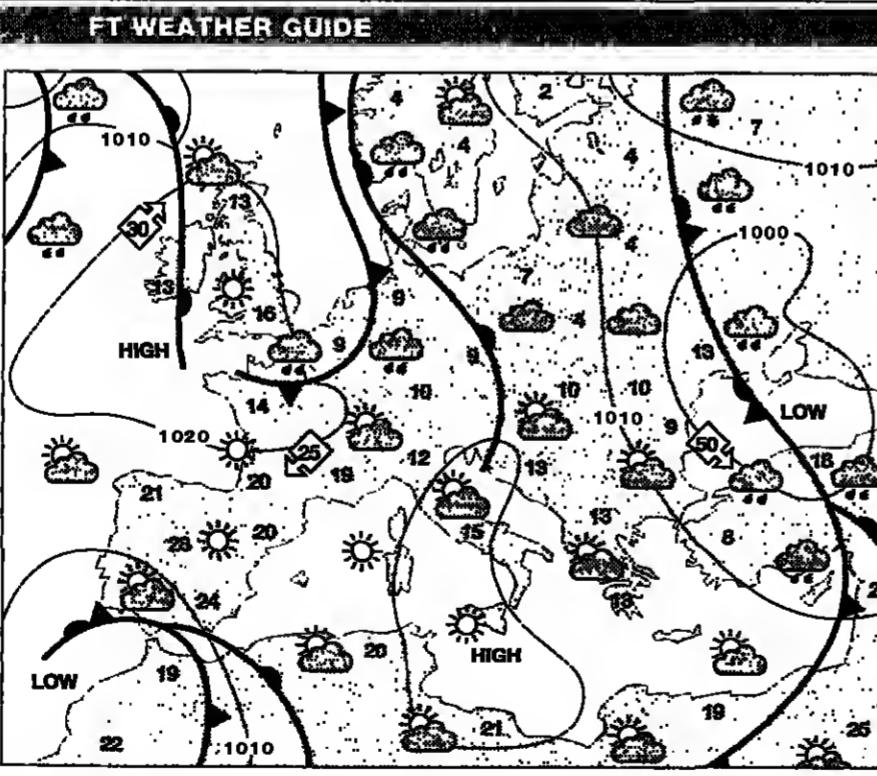
The SDP's supporters had been expected to punish it for abandoning nearly all its traditional

policies so as to hold power with the LDP. The opposition NFP was also expected to have a struggle because of its inability to produce independent policies. But few people had imagined that both Tokyo and Osaka would fall to independents.

Even before yesterday's setback, senior members of Komiteito, the clean government party, one of the NFP's two most valuable financial and political assets, were hinting that they might split if the going got too rough.

Mr William Cash, a leading Euro-sceptical MP, suggested Mr Major was wrong in pointing to divisions over Europe as the reason for the electoral debacle.

You win elections by having policies that command support of the public," Mr Cash said. "It's quite clear that at the moment we don't."



### Europe today

Most of the UK and Ireland will be dry and sunny because of high pressure. Afternoon temperatures will be around 13C-15C. Parts of Germany, the Lowlands, north-east France and the Alps will have rain later today as a small depression moves south-east from northern Germany. France will be mostly very sunny with maximum temperatures above 20C in the south. Spain and Portugal will remain sunny and dry. Cool air will flow over Romania and Bulgaria into the eastern Mediterranean Sea causing showers in Greece. Some showers will also reach the northern coast of Libya and Egypt.

### Five-day forecast

The UK will be dry and calm for most of the week as high pressure settles over the country. Cloud and rain will persist in southern Germany and the northern Alps. A low developing over northern Tunisia will move east, causing heavy rain in southern Italy, southern Greece, Crete and western Turkey during the second half of the week.

### TODAY'S TEMPERATURES

	Maximum	Beijing	Belfast	fair	13	Cancas	fair	29	Faro	sun	24	Madrid	sun	27	Rangoon	fair	34
Abu Dhabi	sun	30	Belgrade	cloudy	14	Cardiff	sun	15	Frankfurt	rain	11	Malaga	sun	20	Reykjavik	rain	8
Accra	cloudy	33	Berlin	rain	11	Casablanca	shower	22	Geneva	fair	15	Malta	sun	17	Rio	fair	25
Akron	sun	32	Bermuda	heat	22	Chicago	shower	8	Gibraltar	sun	18	Manchester	fair	15	Rome	fair	16
Amsterdam	rain	11	Bogota	cloudy	15	Dakar	heat	11	Glasgow	fair	14	Manila	cloudy	33	S. Fraco	sun	18
Athens	shower	15	Bombay	fair	32	Dallas	fair	25	Helsinki	rain	25	Montreal	cloudy	17	Singapore	cloudy	32
Atlanta	fair	27	Brussels	rain	11	Delhi	fair	35	Honolulu	fair	28	Helsinki	cloudy	28	Stockholm	fair	5
B. Aires	showers	22	Budapest	cloudy	12	Dublin	fair	36	Hong Kong	fair	25	Hiroshima	rain	17	Strasbourg	rain	11
B. J. Aires	fair	27	Brussels	rain	7	Dublin	fair	36	Istanbul	rain	17	Kuala Lumpur	rain	17	Toronto	fair	23
B. J. Aires	sun	15	Copenhagen	heat	14	Jakarta	fair	31	Jersey	fair	11	Munich	cloudy	8	Tel Aviv	sun	22
Bangkok	fair	36	Copenhagen	heat	25	Lagos	fair	32	Karachi	fair	31	Nairobi	fair	30	Tokyo	fair	18
Barcelona	sun	19	Cape Town	fair	24	Edinburgh	fair	13	Khartoum	sun	23	Naples	fair	15	Toronto	shower	8
Constant improvement of our service. That's our commitment.						Las Palmas	shower	23	New York	shower	23	Oslo	shower	23	Vancouver	shower	13
Lufthansa						Lisbon	cloudy	28	Nice	sun	17	Vienna	cloudy	12	Wellington	fair	21
						London	sun	27	Paris	rain	19	Winnipeg	dri	29	Whistler	fair	8
						London	cloudy	19	Paris	cloudy	14	Zurich	rain	8			

Lufthansa

	Maximum	Beijing	Belfast	fair	13	Cancas	fair	29	Faro	sun	24	Madrid	sun	27	Rangoon	fair	34
Abu Dhabi	sun	30	Belgrade	cloudy	14	Cardiff	sun	15	Frankfurt	rain	11	Malaga	sun	20	Reykjavik	rain	8
Accra	cloudy	33	Berlin	rain	11	Casablanca	shower	22	Geneva	fair	15	Malta	sun	17	Rio	fair	25
Akron	sun	32	Bermuda	heat	22	Chicago	shower	8	Gibraltar	sun	18	Manchester	fair	15	Rome	fair	16
Amsterdam	rain	11	Bogota	cloudy	15	Dakar	heat	11	Glasgow	fair	14	Manila	cloudy	33	S. Fraco	sun	18
Athens	shower	15	Bombay	fair	32	Dallas	fair	25	Helsinki	rain	25	Helsinki	cloudy	17	Singapore	cloudy	32
Atlanta	fair	27	Brussels	rain	11	Delhi	fair	35	Honolulu	fair	28	Helsinki	cloudy</				

## FINANCIAL TIMES SURVEY

## RUSSIA

Monday April 10 1995

A 14-page study of business, industry, nationalism and culture in Yeltsin's Russia

## Capitalism exposes the poverty gap

The deepening chasm between rich and poor is rapidly becoming the hottest political issue in post-Communist Russia, writes Chrystia Freeland

**T**he annual convulsions which Russia has experienced since the collapse of communism – a gun-fight between parliament and president in 1993, the crash of the ruble in 1994, the war in Chechnya which inaugurated 1995 – should not be allowed to obscure the underlying fact that capitalism has arrived. Just as the old regime stamped its presence on the Moscow skyline with seven imposing Soviet skyscrapers, the invisible hand of the new order has already begun to erect its own monuments.

One of them is the refurbished Radisson Slavyanskaya Hotel, which trumpets Russia's plunge into the market economy with a fleet of cream-coloured Mercedes in its driveway and glittering boutiques selling \$2,000 dresses inside its marble arcade. But, less than 50 metres from the Radisson's heavily guarded, iron gates, the dark and feid Klevsky-Vokzal, one of Moscow's principal train stations, insistently announces the other face of the new Russia.

Among the station's denizens are hordes of thieving children, whose snatching technique – they swarm around their chosen victim, sometimes pushing him to the ground but almost invariably seizing his wallet – is most lucratively practised on hotel guests who have naively chosen to walk to their destination.

Western cities like New York are rich with their own versions of the contrast between the Radisson and the Klevsky-Vokzal, but Russia has not experienced this sort of stark material contrast since the 1920s, when the Bolshevik regime briefly flirted with a

down-sized model of capitalism.

The growing distance between rich and poor is also more shocking to Russian eyes than western ones because it has replaced a communist order in which the currency of social status was political power rather than money and the elites were careful to mask their privilege with paen to the virtues of the working class.

For these reasons, the increasingly deep divide between the winners and the losers created over the past three years by Russia's traumatic economic and political transformation is emerging as the most important underlying factor in the country's struggle to determine how to move forward.

It will determine the results of scheduled parliamentary and presidential elections, it is the subtext of the looming political struggle to push through an austere stabilisation programme and it is the catalyst of an intensifying battle among Russia's élites to emerge on the winning side of the country's second economic redistribution in this century.

**T**he starting gun for the race to power in the new Russia was the far-reaching mass privatisation campaign launched in 1993 by Mr Anatoli Chubais, now the leading standard-bearer of market reforms in the Russian cabinet. The government's political opponents argue that Russia's fast and dirty privatisation, which has already transferred a dizzying 60 per cent of the economy into private hands, was unfair and failed to create effective new private manag-

ers. But members of the government reform team which spearheaded the privatisation drive are unrepentant.

"They say that property was sold off too cheaply in Russia and that as a result there has been no real investment in our industry," says Mr Alfred Koch, deputy head of the State Privatisation Agency, the state body which led the privatisation programme. "But in an impoverished country, how could we have sold assets off dearly? Had we set high prices, we would have had no western investments at all."

Mr Koch insists that, whatever defects there are in the details, mass privatisation has accomplished the broad task of bringing private property to Russia. "Today we have a different landscape in Russia and are ready for the next stage," he says.

That different landscape, where the contrast between the Radisson and the Klevsky-Vokzal, one of Moscow's principal train stations, insistently announces the other face of the new Russia.

One group of participants in the struggle is that section of the old élite which, together with a few particularly savvy activists, managed to transform its old forms of privilege into new ones. But the new redistribution of resources is incomplete, and some sections of the old élite, weakened but not destroyed by the transformation, are fighting for a place in the new order.

As Evgeni Kisilev, Russia's most prominent television pundit, puts it, some figures in the old regime have experienced a devastating "fall from Olym-



For poorer and for richer: a homeless diner in a Moscow soup kitchen



...and youthful patrons of the Bolshoi ballet. Financial Times pictures

pus". That trauma, he says, has provoked "a battle between the oil and gas sector and the banking sector against the agrarian and defence lobbies". Mr Kisilev describes this conflict between the winners and the losers of Russia's transformation as "an effort to exact revenge, led by the most conservative part of the old establishment, the military industrial complex".

Occasionally, this subterranean conflict bubbles to the surface with a violence which reminds bystanders just how high the stakes in the new Russia are. Gangland-style assassinations, of bankers, politicians, and most recently of one of Russia's most beloved television personalities, are bloody testimony to the fact that Russia is now absorbed in a strategic competition to determine which families will be rich and which families will be poor for a very long time to come.

This fundamental power struggle is likely to be the sub-

text of the two public contests Russia faces this year: the government's effort to push through its austere stabilisation programme and parliamentary and presidential elections scheduled to take place over the next 15 months.

In many respects this third government effort to stabilise the economy and bring down inflation from the dizzying rate of nearly 18 per cent a month reported in January by state statisticians appears to have brighter prospects than the two unsuccessful previous attempts.

"The general outlook in Russia is better than it has been at any time since the reform began," argues Mr Richard Layard, a professor at the London School of Economics and Political Science. "We can indeed expect the beginning of an investment boom fairly soon."

There are some compelling

reasons to believe that, as Russia's president and prime min-

ister passionately insist, 1995 will be the year of Russia's long-awaited economic turnaround. One is that all of the key government officials, including Russia's tough new central banker, whose predecessor bears much of the responsibility for the failure of last year's programme, have expressed a public and categorical commitment to the ambitious goal of bringing inflation down to 1 per cent a month by the end of this year.

Moreover, the International Monetary Fund has given Russia its seal of approval and is expected to come through this month with the first tranche of a \$6.4bn standby loan that should help the government to bridge its budget deficit. The fund, which is dole out the money in monthly allotments and has established a strict set of performance criteria, could act as an important source of external discipline.

A third factor favouring this year's stabilisation programme is the underlying economic

transformation which the country has undergone over the past three years. More than half of the economy is in private hands, a capital market in both equities and debt has been created and industrial production, which has been failing with depressing predictability at an annual rate of at least 20 per cent, now appears to be there.

But there is also cause for pessimism. After two failed attempts to bring down inflation by staunching the flow of roubles to agriculture and industry, the government suffers a serious credibility problem.

As Mr Sergei Alekseenko, a leading reformer who resigned from his post as deputy minister of finance last month, points out "this is Mr Chernomyrdin's third attempt and each time we try to stabilise it becomes more and more difficult".

The widely held scepticism

inspired by the government's

Continued on next page

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## RUSSIA 2

## Poverty gap is growing wider

Continued from previous page  
 Flawed track record is captured in a Russian version of Murphy's Law: "We wanted things to turn out for the best, but instead they turned out as they always do." This phrase was coined by Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin in an effort to explain the crash of the ruble last autumn and among Moscow bankers and civil servants it is now wryly recited as "The First Rule of Chernomyrdin".

The danger is that the Russian business community's lack of faith in the government will become a self-fulfilling prophecy by breeding inflationary expectations and renewed demands for state subsidies. The toughest test of the Kremlin's nerve is expected to come over the summer, when the agricultural lobby's already vocal demands for increased state support are likely to become even more strident.

Furthermore, just as in the dying days of the Soviet Union federal macro-economic policy was sabotaged when republics began to issue roubles without Moscow's authorisation, Russia's national stabilisation programme could be jeopardised by the increasingly popular practice of regional administrations to issue local promissory notes which act as surrogate rubles.

As Mr Aleksashenko observes, Russia is caught in a classic contradiction between the general interests of the country and the self-interest of regions, factories and farms. "Stabilisation is in everyone's interests," Mr Aleksashenko says. "The problem is that no one wants to pay for it."

But the greatest threat to the government's stabilisation programme could be posed by parliamentary elections scheduled for December, 1995 and a presidential vote, due to be held in June next year. Even Mr Chernomyrdin has admitted that the need to woo voters could push parliamentarians and politicians in the government of the tough fiscal and monetary



course they have chosen.

Leading Russian bankers with close connections to the Kremlin have gone even further. Fearing, as do most observers, that widespread public disgruntlement with Russia's traumatic political and economic upheaval will produce a communist and authoritarian landslide at the polls, many Muscovite bankers have begun to call for elections to be postponed.

As Mr Oleg Boyko, head of the Otkriva bank and retail group, puts it, "it is a well known phenomenon that in emerging economies during the second year of reform you have popular disillusionment". For this reason, Mr Boyko believes that the scheduled elections will produce "a much worse parliament and a worse president" and should be put off for a couple of years.

The growing tension between continued market reforms and democracy has been disappointing for many of the pioneers of Russian reforms. When communism crumbled in late 1991, liberal reformers moved into the Kremlin confident that their twin goals of bringing democracy and a market economy to

Russia were symbiotically connected. Three years later, the outlook is more pessimistic.

Mr Aleksashenko, whose own decision to leave the government is one of the many small signs that Russia's brief epoch of liberalism is drawing to a close, says: "When I came into the government we understood that democracy cannot exist without a market economy and so we tried to build both." But, he adds, "I have

### Some westerners predict the emergence of corporate fascism

now realised that a market economy can exist without democracy, that it is possible, that that is what Russia will have."

As an open political opponent of the current government, Mr Grigory Yavlinsky, a leading liberal politician, is even more critical. "We are at a crossroads right now," he argues. "Either we move towards a monopolistic, oligarchic economy or towards western style capitalism."

For the short-term, many western observers are pessimistic about which of these two paths Russia will take. Dr Sarah Mendelson, a programme officer at the Moscow office of the National Democratic Institute which is advising Russian democrats on party building, worries that "we could be seeing the emergence of corporate fascism".

A senior official at a western financial institution in Moscow agrees. "Russia is likely to evolve into an authoritarian regime with economic policy pre-arranged in the back rooms," he says. "I see a system emerging in which you have a secret politburo with representatives of the energy sector, the defence sector and agriculture. Economically, this arrangement could work and politically it is compatible with the desire for formal democracy but tolerance in practice of an authoritarian style of governance."

The emergence of a mildly authoritarian Russia, in which big business and government are locked in a mutually beneficial and somewhat corrupt relationship and the state ruthlessly cracks down on dissenting voices, as it has done in Chechnya, must, in historical perspective, count as progress.

Mr Jonathan Hoffmann, international economist at Crédit Suisse First Boston, says: "Nobody promises an easy ride. Russia, unlike any nation this century, faces the collapse of empire, the collapse of ideology, the collapse of political institutions, and the collapse of the economy. But through it all, one is going to see the economy transformed and that's going to continue."

From a western perspective, Russia's enormous, and very nearly irreversible, economic transition is the most important feature of the new Russia, and a convincing counter-argument to the doomsday scenarios which Russia's sporadic political upheavals can inspire.

But for many of Russia's long-suffering citizens, who

lived for more than 70 years with

the promise that a perfect

communist society was "on the

horizon," this long term view is less consoling.

"When people ask me what will happen, I always say that in 20 years it will be all right," says Mr Aleksashenko. "But, unfortunately for me, I live in this country and my family lives here, so I cannot be indifferent about what happens in the next year or two."

### TIPS FOR UNWARY TRAVELLERS

## Red tape is forever

Businessmen travelling to Moscow in the new, capitalist Russia should be prepared for an early initiation into one of the most unpleasant legacies of the old regime: a tough visa system and an international airport to match, writes CHRYSTIA FREELAND.

While old Russia tends to be quick to point out that getting a visa to Russia is much easier than it used to be, that will be cold comfort to business travellers who can expect to be forced through awkward hoops by the Russian consulates.

If you are travelling as an invited guest of a Russian-based organisation, leave at least 10 days for your invitation to come through from Moscow and your visa application to be processed. For a fee, travel agencies or services which specialise in obtaining visas can often secure visas much more quickly, sometimes even overnight, and, at a higher price, some Russian embassies will process business visas within 48 hours.

Having obtained a visa, the next ordeal is Moscow's Sheremetyevo Airport. The half dozen shops which have been set up in the airport over the past few years are not enough to neutralise the oppressive darkness of its main halls or the surliness of the passport and customs officials.

Russians have two strategies to cope with their home-grown bureaucrats, and western business travellers have yet to come up with any alternatives. The technique is either to endure the two long queues at Sheremetyevo with stoic resignation, or, by dint of an aggressive application of elbows, to push to the head of the queue and insist on quicker service.

It is useful to travel to Moscow with a small sum of roubles (about five dollars worth, or 20,000 roubles, at current exchange rates) because baggage trolleys must be rented and, depending on their mood, the clerks

sometimes refuse dollars.

It is also vital to keep the customs declaration you will be required to fill out in a safe place because leaving the country without it can sometimes be very difficult. That is why travellers should strongly resist the recent inclination of customs officials to stamp forms for visitors bringing in very little hard currency. The official you encounter on your way out of the country could be less pleasant.

The trauma of arriving at Sheremetyevo is reason enough to arrange to be met on the other side of the customs barrier. But, for visitors who do not speak Russian, trying to catch a taxi from the airport can be difficult, pricey, and dangerous.

Hopefully, for visitors who have survived the trials of arrival, the new Russia's capital city now boasts services for business travellers approaching western standards. The city has a number of lavishly appointed western-managed hotels, though their exorbitant prices are likely to persuade business travellers of the justice of the federal government's political crusade against Mr Yuri Luzhkov, the powerful mayor of Moscow, whose stranglehold over the city's real estate has pushed rates up to New York levels.

The Kempinski (tel 7-095-230-6500, D-Marks20 per night plus tax), which looks out across the Moskva river on to the Kremlin, and the Metropol (tel 7-095-927-6000, \$240 per night plus tax), a five minute walk from Red Square, are the grandest and most comfortable options in downtown Moscow. Both also have good restaurants, which can save visitors from the sometimes damning prospect of a night-time foray into the city in search of food.

The Canadian-run Aerostar (tel 7-095-213-9000) has less marble and fewer chandeliers and its location 20 minutes drive from the centre of the city is less convenient, but, at

\$230 a night plus tax, its clean rooms and efficient service are what passes for a bargain in Moscow.

Over the past couple of years dozens of passably good restaurants have also sprung up in Moscow. Appropriately for a city whose élite is the most nouveau of the world's riches, Moscow is now in the throes of the Tex Mex craze which became trendy in America in the mid 1980s.

Santa Fe, close to the now refurbished White House, is a Minuscene favourite which offers the standard Tex Mex options: quesadillas, fajitas, barbecue ribs, and all manner of "blackened" meats. What the menu may lack in creativity is more than made up for by the thigh-grazing skirts, navel-baring cropped tops and stiletto heels of the girl-friends who come to Santa Fe to see and be seen.

A less flashy option is Azteca, on Nivnolobodskaya ulitsa just off the ring road. Azteca serves inexpensive and huge portions of the best Mexican food in town. The casual atmosphere can be a welcome relief from the fiercely glittering clientele of many of Moscow's better restaurants, but a Peruvian band which plays with more verve than finesse can make conversation difficult.

For a good meal in a subdued environment, go to Uncle Gully's (tel 7-095-229-2050). Hidden away in basement off a quiet street in the centre of the city, Uncle Gully's is one of Moscow's best kept secrets. The locked doors of the restaurant only swing open to admit customers who have made reservations by telephone, but inside waiters serve Moscow's best steaks.

Russian speakers with a keen ear often have the added opportunity of picking up stock tips from the Moscow businessmen who are the restaurant's most frequent diners. The sirloin steaks might even make you temporarily forget that you have to pass back through Sheremetyevo in order to get home.

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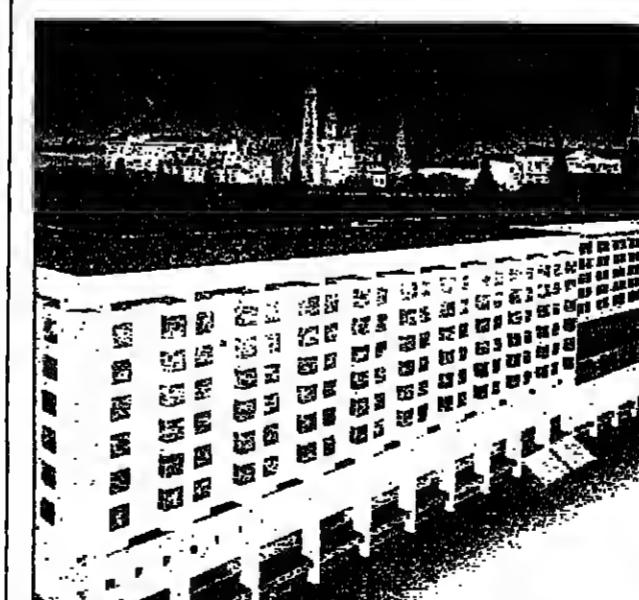
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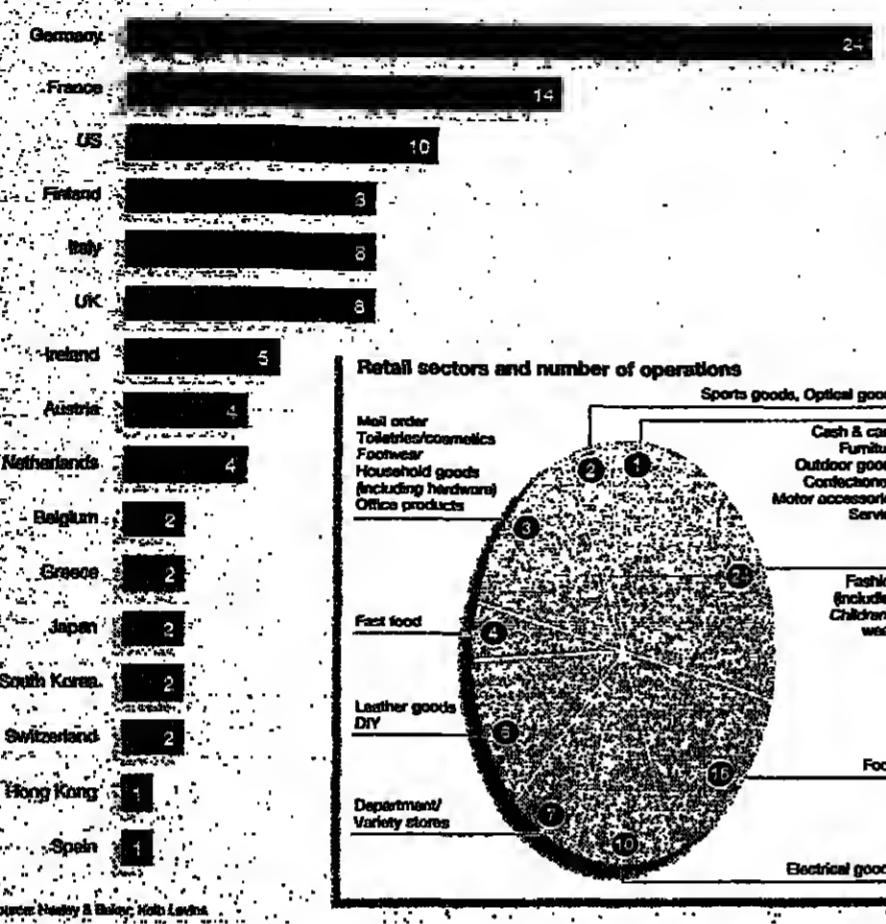
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**B**uying Tesco carnflakes for roubles in the shadow of the Lubianka, Moscow's once feared KGB headquarters and prison, is no longer a fanciful dream. While the KGB is now the Federal Counter-Intelligence Service, its neighbouring foodstore has been transformed into Seventh Continent, a supermarket selling everything from Haagen Dazs ice cream to own-brand groceries supplied by Britain's second-largest food retailer.

A short distance away, window displays from Yves Rocher and Nina Ricci already line

#### Foreign retailers in Russia, 1995

Country of origin and number of operations



Neil Buckley describes the exuberant expansion of the liberated retail sector

## RUSSIA 3

# Consumers know what they want

Tverskaya (formerly Gorky) Street, and a giant excavation in Manezhnaya Square, next to the Kremlin, will by 1997 be a six-store underground shopping centre.

The Soviet Union was famous for its dreary and empty shops. Retailers had no need to compete for customers, existing merely to distribute

the insufficient and poor-quality products of the planned economy at controlled prices.

But while the likes of Seventh

Continent and Christian Dior

remain largely the preserve of

the new rich and foreigners,

Russian shops everywhere are

smartening up, and filling up –

often with imported goods previously unknown to Russians

– under the influence of privatisation and liberalisation of foreign trade.

Russia's exports fell from

\$55bn to \$46bn last year, but

imports rose from \$27bn to

\$28bn, of which consumer

goods accounted for 50 per cent

up from 35 per cent in 1992.

A survey by Russian research

group Business Analytica

found 70 per cent of foodstuffs

in Moscow shops was

imported, and 38 per cent in

other cities.

"Selling imported goods is

seen by Russian firms today as

a more profitable proposition

than selling domestic products,

let alone promoting their own

reasonably competitive produc-

tion," says Mr Andrei Serein,

Business Analytica's chair-

man.

With prices for imported

goods often 30 per cent or more

higher than in the west, life is

still tough for Russians on the

average wage of less than \$100

a month. But the queues and

the shortages – which repre-

sented a form of opportunity

cost for consumers – have

largely gone. Business Analy-

tica found that a complete bas-

ket of basic foodstuffs was

available in only 57 per cent of

132 cities surveyed in February

1993, but in 82 per cent a year

later. For non-food products,

the proportion rose from 76 to

90 per cent.

Moreover, official statistics

can be misleading as many

Russians buy more than one

job, and tax, rent and other

costs account for a lower pro-

portion of Russian incomes

than in the west. If real

incomes grow as forecast in

the second half of the 1990s,

more and more Russians

should be able to take advan-

tage of the improving choice

and quality in consumer goods.

**S**everal factors are bring-

ing about the consumer revolu-

tion. Privatisation of

95 per cent of Russia's 350,000

shops means they are

no longer limited to selling cer-

cain goods supplied by design-

ated state wholesalers. They

compete freely, choosing their

own product categories, and

sourcing from a variety of

wholesalers and factories.

Russian stores are learning

retail skills quickly," says Mr

Steve Williams, vice-president

for Russia of Radio Shack, the

US electrical retailer with

three shops in Moscow and

plans for franchises in other

Russian cities. "A year ago

shop fronts said 'Shop' or

'Food'. Now you see real win-

dow displays and advertising."

Alongside privatised shops, a

network of about 75,000 pri-

vately-owned street kiosks has

emerged, selling everything

from pet food to compact discs.

Mr Charbel Ackermann, vice-president of Boston Con-

sulting Group in Moscow, says

much retail expertise resides in

these kiosks, which can

achieve a turnover of \$100,000 a

year, as much as Russian

shops 10 times their size.

"Chains are now emerging in

kiosks," he says. "It may be

that from these will emerge

real chains of the future."

Liberalisation of foreign

trade in 1992 helped transform

the consumer market by allow-

ing the formation of powerful

new wholesalers, both former

state enterprises and private

companies.

In Moscow, groups such as

Olbi, Kentavr, Vitex and Mik-

rodin already dominate the

market and are starting to

develop their own storage and

transportation facilities to

replace the old, creaking state

distribution system. Regional

groups are also emerging, sour-

cing some products through

Moscow groups, and some

direct from manufacturers.

Wholesalers such as Olbi and

Unikor have opened their own

retail outlets, which might also

become Russian retail chains.

Moreover, the world's largest

The major multinationals all deal with the same situation in Latin America. There is a huge cake in Russia, and it is just a matter of getting organised to get a piece of it."

Retailers such as fashion groups Benetton and Escada, Computerland of the US, Julius Meinl, the Austrian supermarket group, and McDonald's, the US fast food chain, are also expanding in Russia, and a recent report by Healey & Baker, the international property agents, identified significant opportunities for retailers and developers.\*

Russia has only one-third of the retail space per capita of western European countries, with a particular shortage of small-medium sized food stores, and district and neighbourhood shopping centres. While GUM, the former state department store alongside Moscow's Red Square, is seeking funding and approval for a \$300m refurbishment to turn it into one of the world's great shopping centres, Healey and Baker identifies the need for more purpose-built shopping centres in central Moscow.

"As there is little in the way of a recognisable market in most retail sectors, the opportunity exists to shape the market and the consumer before they exist," the agency says. "The potential to dominate in the early stages of the emergence of markets is vast."

\* Retail: A Report on the Market in Moscow. Healey & Baker, 29 George St, Hanover Sq, London W1. +44 171 355 4299



A Moscow video dealer collects his stock for sale in the suburbs



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## RUSSIA 4

The new banking system shows flair, courage and a streak of criminality, says John Thornhill

## A game with insufficient rules

Russia's banking industry, which has rapidly emerged as one of the most dynamic sectors of the economy, exemplifies both the best and the worst aspects of the country's capitalist transformation.

Russia's new generation of youthful bankers has shown remarkable entrepreneurial spirit and an astonishing ability to experiment and adapt. Conversely, Russia's banks also suffer from speculative short-term thinking, a lack of effective regulation and a pervasive streak of criminality and corruption. The brutal contract killings of leading bankers are still a depressing feature of Russian life.

When the banking regulations were relaxed four years ago at the start of Russia's economic liberalisation, there was an explosion of activity; some 2,500 banks are now officially registered in Russia – approximately one quarter of the number in the US. The vast majority of the biggest banks are clustered in Moscow with regional banks being a lot slower to develop. According to the Central Bank, these banks' total assets amount to about \$70bn giving them considerable influence in the development of the country's economy.

This surge of activity was especially surprising given the primitive nature of banking in the Soviet era when domestic banks were little more than roble distribution centres. Pramstrolbank, which had a national chain of branches, simply channelled cash from the central planners to the local industrial enterprises.

Nervous savers curb the capital markets, says John Thornhill

## Cash stays under the bed

The government's latest motto is that 1995 must be the bridge year between Russia's inflationary past and its investment future.

An economic stabilisation plan – now backed by the International Monetary Fund – could finally tame inflation thereby building the first half of the bridge.

But the government will still find it hard to cross the financial chasm unless it can encourage the country's private savings to be channelled into the productive economy to re-ignite growth.

There is certainly no shortage of capital in Russia. The government estimates that there is at least \$10bn in domestic savings stuffed into biscuit tins and under mattresses waiting for a safer home. The critical question is how to help create effective intermediary institutions to recycle this money to more productive ends.

Russia's banking system has developed at a frantic pace in the past few years but is probably still too under-capitalised and under-managed to be able to channel funds into industry on the scale required to revive the country's manufacturing base. Besides, government ministers fear too close a relationship could develop between the banks and the companies in which they invest producing conflicts of interest, impeachable excuses of corporate power and scope for corruption.

Investment and pension funds are also sucking up private capital and investing in industry. Some funds, such as Alpha Capital, are already making direct investments in basic manufacturing plants and showing reasonable returns on their money. But many of Russia's poorly-regulated investment funds are run by unscrupulous managers and have been dogged by scandal. They alone will not transform Russia's finances.

The third possibility is to encourage the development of effective equity and bond markets. That would enable Russia's thousands of privatised

but cash-starved companies to raise finance and invest in growth. It would also help develop a shareholder culture imposing an external restraint on managers. Moreover, it would ease the pressure on the government to issue inflationary state credits and enable it to raise money to plug its budget deficit.

Mrs Bella Zlatkis, head of securities at the ministry of finance, says: "We see the development of the government debt market as the most important means for achieving

Siberian town. Even then there is no guarantee that shareholders' names will not be erased. Last November, a Federal Commission on Securities and Capital Markets was created to bring greater order to Russia's chaotic markets. Its role is to develop the regulatory framework and the infrastructure to ease their operation.

Mr Georg Kjallgren, director of Brunswick Brokerage, a Swedish-owned Moscow-based stockbroker, says: "The commission has basically identified all the main concerns of investors have fought shy of committing more money this year because of the lack of security. Serious western investors understand the nature of the political and economic risks in Russia but they will not accept a risk to the title of their investment," according to a western fund manager.

But the commission cannot succeed in isolation. Changes to Russia's legal system are urgently required to strengthen the concept of property ownership. Russia's tax regime also needs to be adapted if much-needed mutual and pension funds are to be created as a means of pooling domestic savings.

It will also be a big challenge to change the psychology of investors who have been seduced by the stratospheric returns offered by Russia's get-rich-quick merchants. It will take time for investors to develop trust in a regulatory regime and understand the advantages of receiving smaller but safer returns over a longer period.

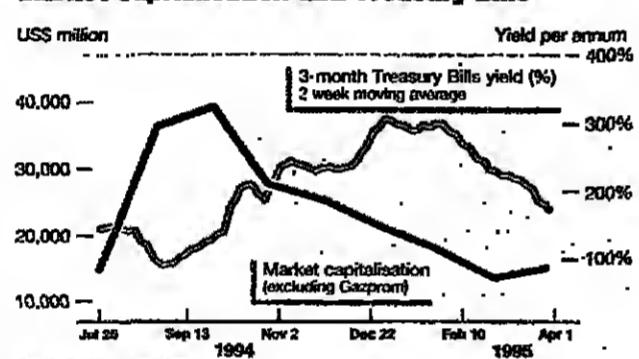
Mr Maxim Boiko, the head of the Russian Privatisation Centre, an independent advisory body with close links to government reformers, argues that the human capital must also be upgraded before physical capital can be usefully invested.

He says shareholders have already replaced managers at 10 per cent of privatised companies but that more must be done to develop management "as an art to master and a science to learn".

According to a study made by Mr Andrei Volgin, manager of the Derezhava Investment Fund and chairman of the Moscow Shareholders' Rights Committee, as many as 90 per cent of privatised companies say they do not want to raise additional capital. Such managers prefer simply to maintain control rather than risk expanding their businesses.

However, that may make it even easier for Russia's progressive companies to raise capital and more attractive for investors to lend.

### Market capitalisation and Treasury bills



financial stabilisation. We will have a budget deficit of Rbs72,000bn this year of which Rbs11,000bn must be covered by government debt."

But there are many hurdles to clear before Russia's nascent capital markets are transformed from speculators' playgrounds into effective exchanges in which the demands of lenders and borrowers can be easily satisfied.

Russia's existing markets lack the most basic of infrastructure. Prices quoted by stockbrokers are only indicative, with spreads between the buy and sell prices being as much as 40 per cent. There is almost no liquidity in the shares of many companies.

Most reputable stockbrokers will only deal in minimum trades of about \$50,000. Newly-bought shares have to be physically written on to a company's register often requiring a personal visit to a remote

tors and has an aggressive plan for solving these problems in 1995."

Various projects are under way to remedy the difficulties associated with share registration, trading and settlement systems and some progress is already being made. The Bank of New York is participating in the creation of an independent share registration system.

Chase Manhattan and ING banks are setting up custodial services. Mr Dmitry Vasilev, the executive head of the commission, says: "We have to convince the more conservative foreign investors that Russia is a safe market in which to invest their money and increase the contribution from the domestic population."

Although speculative foreign investors may have invested about \$1.3bn in Russia's equity market last year, mainstream

investors have fought shy of committing more money this year because of the lack of security. Serious western investors understand the nature of the political and economic risks in Russia but they will not accept a risk to the title of their investment," according to a western fund manager.

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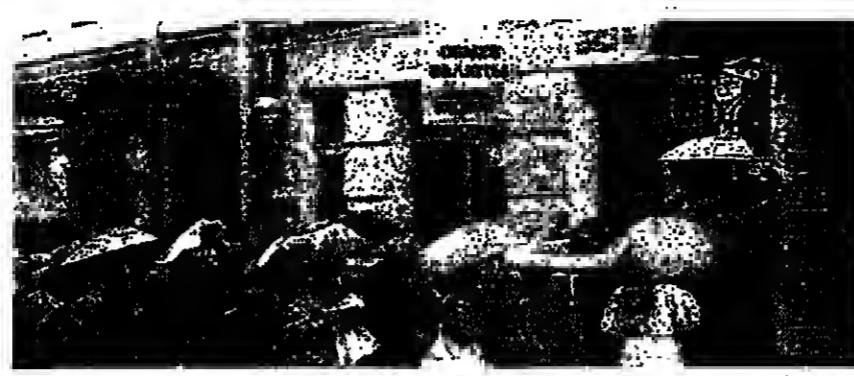
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Seeking shelter: with the rouble fluctuating wildly, Muscovites queue at a foreign currency kiosk

Agrobank did much the same for agriculture. The only bank that vaguely resembled a western commercial organisation was Vneshekonombank, the foreign trade bank, which has provided many of the senior staff and technicians for Russia's new commercial banks. The rest of Russia's bankers have had to gain their experience on the job.

Whether by accident or design, the government's highly liberal policy encouraged a thousand flowers to bloom in Russia's financial sector. But it now seems increasingly likely that the stronger flowers will flourish while the weaker ones will wither.

Mrs Alexandra Kozyreva, president of Tveriversalsbank, says: "There are bankruptcies waiting to happen in the Russian banking sector. The big banks will begin to take over the smaller ones."

This consolidation process may be hastened by the fierce competition that is developing among the banks for new business. In an environment in which reputation is all-important given the lack of effective regulation, Russia's more respectable banks may be right in hoping the more dubious elements will lose their custom.

The Central Bank has also raised the

highly flexible and have tended to dabble in a whole range of activities. Currency trading is one of the most profitable sources of revenue and about 100 banks are also active in the treasury bill and promissory note markets.

Banks have also found it very profitable to finance import businesses although this remains inherently risky. But few Russian banks have been prepared to sink money into developing their branch networks and the retail banking remains massively underdeveloped.

One of the worst aspects of the banks' development has been the incestuous interconnections that have arisen between the banks' managers, shareholders and customers. "Most Russian banks are owned by their managers and that worries me quite a lot," Mr Andrei Volgin, an investment fund manager, told a recent conference.

Very often Russian banks – such as Aeroflotbank or Avtovazbank – are the financial offshoots of large industrial concerns. In other cases banks have become simply a credit pipeline taking money from the central bank and giving it to their shareholders without any independent scrutiny in-between.

Russia's banks have certainly proved

Mr Miljenko Horvat, president of CitiBank's Moscow office, says: "These close connections between the banks and the companies in which they invest have to be loosened in order for the banking system to become truly effective."

The best bankers are now making strenuous efforts to improve their management systems and are among the biggest buyers of training services from western consulting firms. Russia's bankers are also developing their skills in assessing companies' balance sheets and investment plans so that they can more accurately price long-term loans. The international aid organisations have been keen to help develop such expertise and have targeted banks as one of their priority sectors.

As their riches have grown, Russia's bankers have also started to diversify into other sectors, such as the media. A group of banks, including Menatep and Stolichny, is planning to invest in the commercialised Public Russian Television Company, which will succeed the main state television company, Ostankino. The OIzi bank has also acquired a stake in the Izvestia newspaper and is keen to broaden its media interests. But the high profile positions adopted by some of Russia's bankers have made them vulnerable to sniping from rival centres of power. The example of Mr Vladimir Gusinsky, head of the Most banking and media empire who has been hounded by the presidential security apparatus, has been a reminder of how banking in Russia is far from just being a financial proposition.

FDI would be closer to \$7bn if Russia had attracted even one fifth as much as Hungary on a per capita basis.

Andrey Lushin, economist at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, frets as much about the quality of FDI as its quantity. "It is true that the official figures do not show the whole picture. But...most of the country's industrial core is still highly unattractive to outside investors."

Recorded FDI flows – and no doubt many unrecorded ones – have so far been highly concentrated in the Russian energy sector. Many hope that the macroeconomic stabilisation plan hammered out with the International Monetary Fund early last month will lead to a broader range of FDI. However, there is little evidence to support this view.

Days before the agreement was signed, the International Finance Corporation unveiled the largest ever foreign investment in the Russian manufacturing sector: a \$150m package for a newsprint plant in Nizhny Novgorod, financed by the IFC in collaboration with private partners.

Yet, fewer than two weeks later, the Swiss-Swedish firm Asea Brown Boveri, hitherto one of the most active foreign investors in Russia, announced it was postponing all its expansion until overall business conditions improved.

Optimists say that ABB, which has quarrelled with the government over certain legislative changes, is a special case. By and large, they remain convinced that, even though it may be a while before Russia emerges as a major recipient of both portfolio and direct capital inflows, recent events have brought that day closer.

For his part Mr Kjallgren believes that rising interest in Russia among portfolio investors is laying the groundwork for future direct investment in the form of local knowledge and expertise. "You now have maybe 50 or 60 researchers, all looking for Russian companies to invest in," he says.

First, however, the government must show investors that the market can offer a safe return on their assets for more than two weeks at a time.

Stephanie Flanders

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## RUSSIA 6

The Russian government's official statistics paint a picture of the economy which does not match the real-life experiences of the country's population. In certain respects, the "real" Russia has developed further in three and a half years of market reforms than the government claims. In others, however, it has lagged far behind the official rate.

Most damaging has been the gap between the theory and practice of the government's plans to bring down inflation, and liberalise the economy. This year's tough budgetary programme will be the clearest test to date of President Boris Yeltsin's willingness to start matching the government's words with its actions.

Officially, Russian real GDP fell by 15 per cent in 1994, ending the year 40 per cent lower than at the end of 1991. Real incomes and consumption were 30 and 21 per cent lower, respectively, than they were three years ago. Meanwhile, income inequality has increased sharply: the monthly per capita income of the poorest tenth of the population has halved, relative to the richest tenth, since the beginning of 1992. However, few doubt that

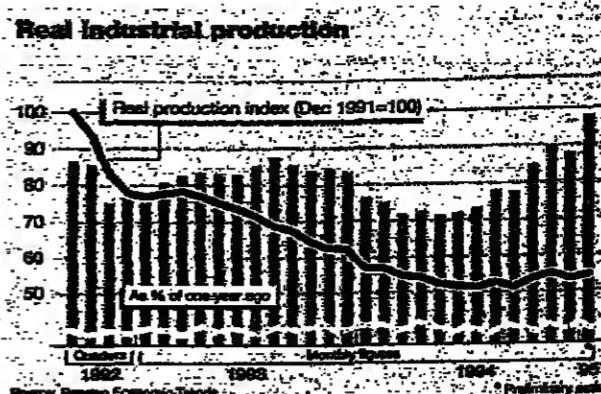
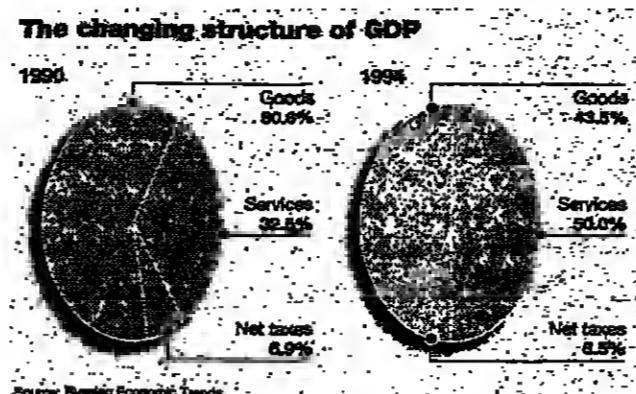
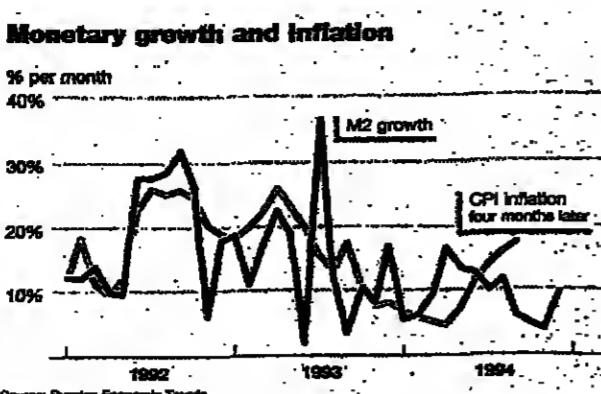
In spite of the market reforms, the authorities still fix many consumer and producer prices

the emergence of a dynamic service sector, which now accounts for 50 per cent of GDP, has counteracted the fall in living standards implied by the data.

The volume of sales in Russia's (mainly unregistered) street markets is estimated to have risen by over 20 per cent in 1994 alone.

The last proper estimate of GDP was in 1992," says Pavel Teplyukhin, economist at the government's working centre for economic reform. "The truth is we don't really know what has happened since - anything from 15-20 per cent of the economy probably goes unrecorded."

The government predicts a further 8-9 per cent decrease in GDP this year, which would be an improvement on last year's fall of 15 per cent. But Mr Teplyukhin believes that the economy probably troughed in the latter half of last year, and that, unofficially at least, growth may turn slightly positive.



The official statistics both underplay and exaggerate the economic successes, writes **Stephanie Flanders**

## Reformists aim to be third time lucky



tive this year.

In other respects, the contrast between the official and unofficial version of the last three years provides fewer grounds for optimism. On paper, extensive price liberalisation and mass privatisation have in three years given the country the rudiments of a Western-style market economy. In practice, however, both local and central government continued to fix a wide range of consumer and producer prices: anything from the cost of a loaf of bread, in some regions, to the domestic oil price, which remains around 50 per cent below world market levels.

Similarly, transferring ownership of state companies, in most cases to workers and managers themselves, has often had a limited effect on the way the companies are run. The bulk of the industrial sector has yet to undergo the kind of restructuring it will need if it is to meet the demands of domestic consumers.

Russian goods are a rare sight among the rows of imported products of the average supermarket. Mr Hasso-A. Molleus, resident representative of the World Bank for the past three years, believes that there have been hopeful signs of change at the grass-roots over the past year.

"I think we all expected things to change too quickly. Some of the workers are beginning to sell their shares, and that means that managers are starting to feel the pressure of outside investors. Ownership doesn't change everything

overnight: it's going to take time."

Many worry, however, that when outside investors do start to win control of many companies, they will find that illicit asset-stripping by managers, and the embezzlement of funds

has left very little to restructure. "I've been to towns where all the main companies are dying, but the local banks are doing a roaring trade", says one Western businessman working in Moscow.

Funds totalling \$20bn are estimated to have left the country in 1994 alone, over five times the total reported losses of domestic enterprises. Real

first is the supposed elimination of the printing press from the realm of budget finance.

Over three-quarters of last year's 10.5 per cent budget deficit was funded through the emission of central bank credits. This year's smaller shortfall will instead be funded by the IMF loan, privatisation revenues, and the sale of government bonds.

The second difference is the unexpected tightness of the budget itself. The upturn in inflation in the last quarter of last year means that nominal GDP will now be 50 per cent higher than the forecast in the budget. Consequently, sticking to the same target for nominal spending would now mean a budget deficit of 5.6 per cent of GDP, rather than the 7.9 per cent originally agreed.

The plan's third distinction is the apparent strength of both Mr Yeltsin's and Mr Chernomyrdin's commitment to the plan in both 1993 and 1994. The government adhered to its stabilisation programme, agreed last month with the International Monetary Fund, to re-build that faith in order to pave the way for future investment-led growth. "This year's plan will be Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin's third attempt at stabilising the economy", comments Sergei Aleksashenko, who last month resigned from the government after more than three years as deputy minister of finance. "In Russia, we have a proverb: doing something once is an accident, twice is a coincidence, but three times it's a rule."

Supporters say that the new plan has three features which the previous two lacked. The

central aim of the 1995

now believes that the risks of failure would be too high.

"If we tried to be strong and failed", says Sergei Pavlenko, director of working centre for economic reform, "we could end up weakening the entire programme. The better way to win confidence would be to stimulate the rouble gradually."

The government may also attempt to lower the cost of bond finance directly, by opening the market to the public. Developing the government bond market would provide some assurance that the government will not resort to monetary financing next year. In addition, official observers say that federal tax revenues, now 14 per cent of GDP, will have to rise further.

Advisers have persistently lobbied for higher taxes on energy, which will net only 2 per cent of GDP in revenues in 1995, despite the fact that the sector as a whole accounts for 15 per cent of GDP. In Indonesia, where the energy sector accounts for around 12 per cent of the economy, energy taxes net over three times more than in Russia as a share of GDP.

The IMF successfully fought for a small import duty increase in gas and oil export taxes in the new budget.

Advisers are pressing for higher energy taxes, which in 1995 will net only 2 per cent of GDP.

President Yeltsin's decree in March, promising a more sweeping liberalisation of prices and the abolition of company tax and import duty exemptions, were likewise demanded by the IMF as a condition of granting the loan.

Like standing up to agricultural and military producers in the summer and early autumn, Mr Yeltsin's implementation of the price and tax reforms included in the plan would attest to his willingness to risk alienating the most powerful sectors of the economy in the interests of market reform.

Mr Aleksashenko, and others, suspect that a new series of loopholes will quickly take the place of the old. But for the moment neither he, nor the IMF, can do anything but wait and see.



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## RUSSIA 7

## ■ OIL AND GAS INDUSTRY

**Blockages in the pipeline**

The reform of Russia's oil and gas industry has accelerated in recent months, although liberalisation has so far failed to improve the environment for foreign investment in the sector, write ROBERT CORZINE and JOHN THORNHILL.

Under pressure from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the government has taken steps this year to lift the domestic price of oil towards world levels.

Western economists argue that this will help remove distortions in the economy and encourage greater investment. But there are signs that the new regime is still not working as it should. Domestic oil prices are gradually rising but they remain stuck at about 40 per cent of world levels.

**The spectre of mass closures stalks the far-flung coalfields, writes John Thornhill**

**Miners wait for the last shift**

In the relative comfort of Moscow it is easy to accept the proposition that state subsidies to industry are an economic evil, distorting the proper allocation of resources, featherbedding idle managers, and fueling inflation.

The irony is that to scale down the industry effectively might require state intervention as big a scale as that needed to construct the industry in the first place. Such remedies naturally spark suspicion in a country distrustful of the state's omniscience.

The World Bank, which has conducted an exhaustive review of Russia's coal industry, which was built by central planners with an obsessive desire to maximise production and little account of human or economic cost, has no future in a free market economy and will remain heavily reliant on state subsidies for the foreseeable future. The great challenge will be how to dismantle that old infrastructure without causing terrible unrest.

The miners of Vorkuta, which was built in the Arctic circle by political prisoners as part of Stalin's forced labour empire, say they have little prospect of finding a job or accommodation elsewhere. The town's 200,000 residents claim they are trapped in an eco-

nomic Gulag. The restructuring of the coal industry is therefore emerging as a highly-politicised test case of how successfully the country can shed its communist heritage and move towards a more humane market economy.

The irony is that to scale down the industry effectively might require state intervention as big a scale as that needed to construct the industry in the first place. Such remedies naturally spark suspicion in a country distrustful of the state's omniscience.

The World Bank, which has conducted an exhaustive review of Russia's coal industry,

undermine the market price of coal and destroy the viability of Russia's more efficient pits.

The bank recommended that drastic action should be quickly taken to alleviate the "catastrophic" situation.

Either the restructuring can continue in an *ad hoc* and sometimes chaotic manner, driven by inevitable bankruptcies of local coal companies and causing immense social distress and political tension, or the government can use the existing budget subsidies to provide an adequate social safety net for those who agree to leave the coal industry." It concluded.

**T**he optimal solution, the bank suggested, would be to redirect subsidies to create social mechanisms to enable miners and their families to retrain or take early retirement or move to other regions to find jobs. The bank offered to back such projects with \$50m of funds.

Other countries have faced similar political dilemmas and social agencies in scaling down their coal industries. For example, employment in the coal industry in Belgium, France, Germany and Britain has fallen by more than 75 per cent over the past 30 years. In the US it has fallen by more than

50 per cent. But the difference perhaps is that the need for restructuring in other countries was never as acute as it is today in Russia and the general economic backdrop has never been so harsh.

The coal mining unions initially condemned the bank's recommendations as "market bolshivism" and called for greater investment as the solution to the industry's crisis. More thoughtful submissions argued that the practical complications of restructuring the industry along the bank's lines were colossal: retrenching miners implied the government knew what skills were useful; relocating them suggests the government knew which regions would prosper.

Besides, determining what enterprise is profitable in Russia today is fraught with difficulties while the market remains so imperfect. The cash flow crisis at Vorkuta's coal association is caused more by the failure of customers to pay on time than by the government's inability to inject fresh credits.

In particular, Vorkuta's mines are heavily reliant on two metal plants, in Cherepovets and Lipetsk, which are experiencing difficulties in paying for their coal. "We understand that we cannot cut

the branch on which we are sitting," says Mr Alexander Stepanov, chairman of the Vorkuta coal association. "We cannot allow these enterprises to die because we depend on them. They are our main customers and if they close then we will have no market."

The viability of Vorkuta's mines is further threatened by the semi-privatised railway system which is now charging its captive customers exorbitant rates to transport its coal. Without an effective state regulator, Vorkuta's coal association has no recourse against such price-fixing.

Given the political complexities involved, the likelihood is that Russia's coal mining industry will adapt slowly to the market economy launching from crisis to crisis without an effective resolution to its woes. Miners will not receive their wages for months, safety standards will continue to slide and strikes will periodically erupt.

A committee of industry representatives, including academics, trade union leaders, ministers and managers, is considering how to reform the industry and is pondering the World Bank's views.

But Rosugol, the national coal industry body, is committed to closing several pits this year without putting much

Russian companies appear more concerned with securing their position in a fast-evolving domestic industry, rather than cementing international ties.

Mr Igor Tsukanov, chairman of Centravtov, a Russian consulting company, says: "The big oil companies are currently jockeying for position rather than trying to improve their position. The final shape of the industry has still to be decided." He likens Russia's oil companies to players running around a Monopoly board. First they have been desperate

to seize every property they can. Then they try to rationalise their assets and swap properties with other players. Only when they have built up an attractive portfolio of assets do they start investing in houses and hotels.

So far, the oil and gas lobby has not been that active in party politics unlike Russia's biggest banks and the military and agricultural lobbies. But there are signs of an increasing politicisation of the industry as the oil barons seek to protect the managerial freedom they have now won. Pressure from the oil industry was reportedly one of the biggest influences spurring President Yeltsin into sacking Mr Vladimir Polyakov, the privatisation minister who alarmed foreign investors by talking about the need for

re-nationalising certain strategic assets.

Mr Viktor Chernomyrdin, the former head of Gazprom, continues to take a keen personal interest in the sector's development and under his premiership the big oil and gas companies have enjoyed a privileged status.

For example, the government has recently criticised for not taxing the fuel companies adequately, imposing an undue strain on public finances. Mr Anders Aslund, a former adviser to the Russian government who is now at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, has condemned such exemptions as verging on "legalised criminality".

The government has recently been deliberating on the future structure of the industry. A report compiled for the government and the World Bank by the Boston Consulting Group recommended a number of policy and structural changes aimed at creating a "more deregulated, market-based structure".

It called for greater access to crude oil pipelines, and a regulatory regime to allocate access to the oil transport system. The issue is a crucial one for Russian and foreign companies, but the government has said that it will continue to allocate space on the basis of past production.

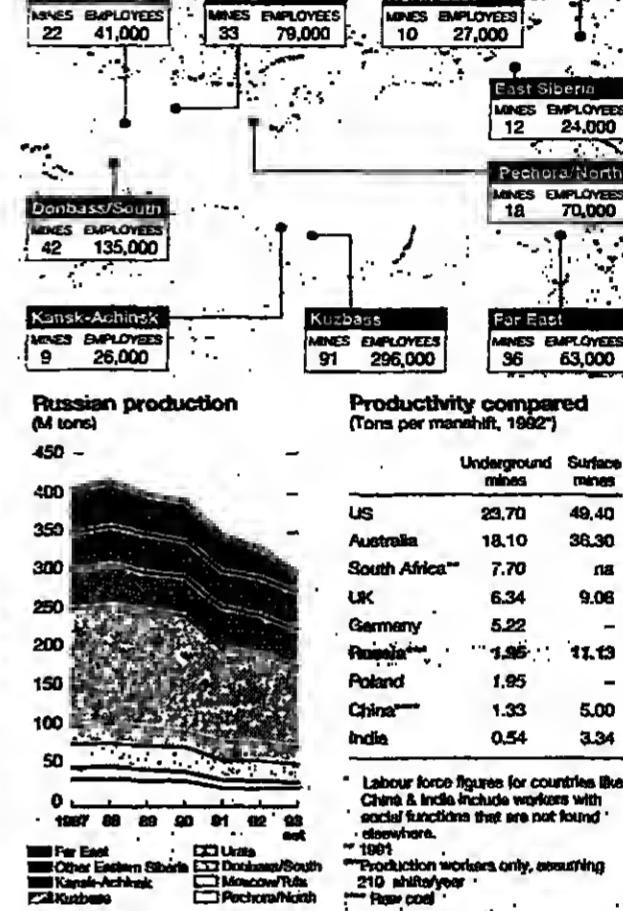
**T**he report also recommended an overhaul of Russia's share trading and registration procedures and greater financial disclosure to encourage foreign investment into the new, partially privatised integrated oil majors, such as Lukoil, Yukos and Surgutneftegas.

Suggested reforms of the downstream oil sector include a cut in refinery over-capacity and the break-up of the local monopolies that control the country's 8,000 petrol stations.

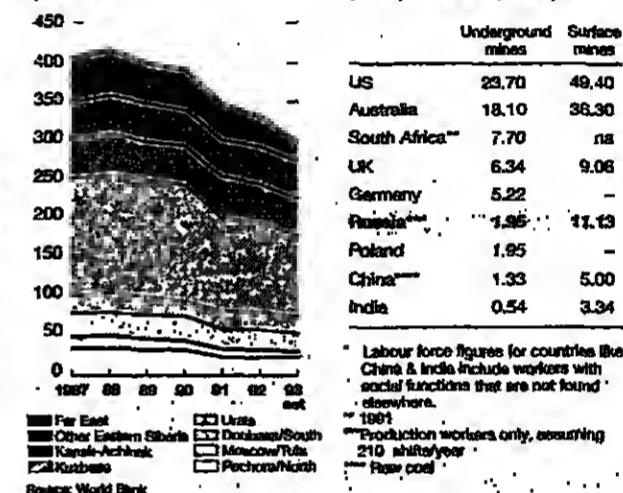
Many Russian and foreign companies have already expressed an interest in such an undeveloped sector as petro-marketing. Lukoil, for example, the country's largest oil company accounting for 15 per cent of Russia's output, will increase its downstream activities to widen its profit margin and improve its cash-flow position.

"We need a bigger network of gas stations especially in Russia's hinterlands," says Leonid Fedun, vice-president of Lukoil.

Russia's coal producing regions



Productivity compared (Tons per manshift, 1992)



Labour force figures for countries like China & India include workers with social functions that are not found elsewhere.  
\* Production workers only, assuming 210 white/year  
\*\* Raw coal

emphasis on creating social support programmes to cushion the blows. Rosugol has grown skilled at directing resources at the most militant regions to forestall industrial unrest. It seems intent on muddling through.

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## RUSSIA 8



Steel-worker in Magnitogorsk production and consumption are falling

Western mining houses think again, says Kenneth Gooding

**Eldorado loses its shine**

Russia, when it was part of the Soviet Union, was thought to be a vast storehouse of mineral wealth. Western mining companies had no reason to doubt this until the break up of the Soviet Union. Then they were encouraged to visit Russia to see for themselves the state of its metal mining, smelting and refining operations, and they changed their minds.

While the opening of Russia to the west confirmed the presence of substantial economic deposits of oil and gas, the evidence was far less clear for metals. A great deal of the resources that do exist are in remote eastern regions that lack the infrastructure to permit viable mining activities to be established.

"What is clear is that most of the existing mining industry is in a pitiful state," says Mr David Humphreys, deputy chief economist at the RTZ Corporation, the western world's biggest mining group. The amount of metal in the ore at copper, lead and zinc mines is well below those in the west. The mineral from which aluminium is produced in Russia is of a quality that would not be used elsewhere in the world, "and the alluvial gold deposits of the far eastern region, long the mainstay of Soviet production, are largely worked out. Nickel alone appears to be mined from a deposit of genuine world class - at Norilsk in the far north."

"Throughout the Russian

industry, under-investment has left operations with inadequate equipment, very low productivity and primitive environmental protection practices."

Other analysts suggest that the Soviet Union concentrated mainly on keeping up the level of metal production to ensure that its military machine did not run short. Metals were produced without any reference to the true cost. Huge stockpiles were built up in case production problems did arise.

The break up of the Soviet Union changed all that. According to estimates by the CRU International metals consultancy group, primary metal production in the Commonwealth of Independent States has fallen since 1988 by anything from 8 per cent in the case of aluminium to 37 per cent in the cases of nickel and primary lead. Output was cut because of shortages of spare parts, reagents and equipment, rising costs of energy and, in some cases, power failures.

The relatively small drop in aluminium production was due to the success of western trading companies that supplied alumina, the raw material for aluminium production, to Russia and Tajikistan, for toll smelting. Tolling - where smelters simply process raw material owned by others - accounts today for at least half of all Russian aluminium production and contributed significantly to the republic's production of copper, lead, zinc

magnesium and titanium.

Although the fall in metals production was startling, the drop in consumption in the CIS was even more dramatic. The CRU estimates the drop ranged between 28 per cent for primary lead to 68 per cent for nickel.

This released growing volumes of metal for export, primarily to the western countries where it created havoc with prices and produced outraged calls for these exports to be curtailed. The European Union imposed a temporary quota on Russian aluminium, a move that led to a unique international trade agreement between some of the big al-

But he warns that Russia's desperate need to export metals will not disappear for many years because "Russia has little else to export, other than basic commodities". He points out that in 1990 oil, metals and diamonds accounted for 58 per cent of Russian exports. By 1993 this proportion had risen to 72 per cent. "If you add in all other commodity products, the proportion of exports accounted for by commodities rose from 70 per cent in 1990 to 86 per cent in 1993. And the total value of Russian exports has dropped by nearly 40 per cent during this three year period."

As the Russian metals indus-

try is in such bad shape, some analysis suggest that, when its economy fully recovers, it will be a net importer of many base metals.

RTZ's Mr Humphreys says

that the development of Russia's mining industry will need a great deal of capital, the one thing Russia does not have. "One answer is to turn to foreign investors but, although in their public statements the Russian authorities appear favourable to foreign investment, in practice they are more ambivalent. There remains a deep rooted suspicion of the motives of foreign

ers and a fear of under-selling the country's mineral wealth. To the extent that a role is seen for foreign companies, it is frequently in the development of deposits of too low a grade or too complex for local companies."

There also remain too many uncertainties for Russia to appeal to the big mining companies with capital to spare: clarification is needed on how jurisdiction over mineral resources is to be divided between the centre and the regions and greater realism needs to be displayed in the legal and fiscal conditions for foreign investment.

RTZ's Mr Humphreys says that the development of Russia's mining industry will need a great deal of capital, the one thing Russia does not have. "One answer is to turn to foreign investors but, although in their public statements the Russian authorities appear favourable to foreign investment, in practice they are more ambivalent. There remains a deep rooted suspicion of the motives of foreign

involved exclusively in defence production. The newly independent company promptly went bust, provoking local communists and nationalists to accuse Mr Korovin of being party to the destruction of the military capacity of the motherland - but Uralmash has been glad to have Spetsstekhnika off its balance sheet.

This painful retrenchment has thus far brought only partial results. Last year, Uralmash had a slight profit of Rb 65 billion before taxes, but "hybridine" Russian accounting practices make this a difficult figure to evaluate; end-year production fell by a whopping 41 per cent.

Yet Mr Korovin is hopeful that, if the government manages to bring inflation down to at least 5 per cent a month this year, Uralmash might increase its output by 5 to 8 per cent. Moreover, Uralmash, which sells 19 per cent of its production

*Continued on facing page*

■ Chrystia Freeland visits Yekaterinburg, which holds the key to industrial Russia's success

**Two time zones east of Moscow**

account for 40 per cent of its industrial production.

"The fundamental recovery of Russia is going to take place in the Urals," says Mr Jack Segal, the US consul to the region. "The things that make an economy run are produced in factories, not in offices."

Amid the vast, and often outwardly decrepit, factories of the Urals, there are increasing signs that that recovery is beginning to happen. Moscow's nouveau riches, whose fortunes are the hot-house fruit of banking and trading, announce their presence with an insistent parade of

western luxury cars and flashy clothes. But, in blue-collar Yekaterinburg, the visible indications that Russia's traumatic economic transition is beginning to work take a more subtle form.

Yekaterinburg's captains of industry still drive boxy Russian Volgas and appear to take a perverse pride in wearing ill-cut Soviet suits, but, in some cases, their modest manners conceal men who have taken radical steps which are now

beginning to turn their factories around.

One of Yekaterinburg's potential success stories is Uralmash, a huge heavy engineering factory which occupies nearly 1,000 acres in one of the city's suburbs and employed 50,000 workers in its heyday. Three years ago

the workers approved the appointment Mr Viktor Korovin, of a dynamic young director who is leading a quiet revolution in his factory, (profile on page 9).

A slight, blue-eyed 42 year old, Mr Korovin is an avid fan of the works of Gen Dmitri Volkogonov, the historian whose exposés of Bolshevik brutality more commonly appear in the libraries of Moscow intellectuals than in the industrial environments of the Urals.

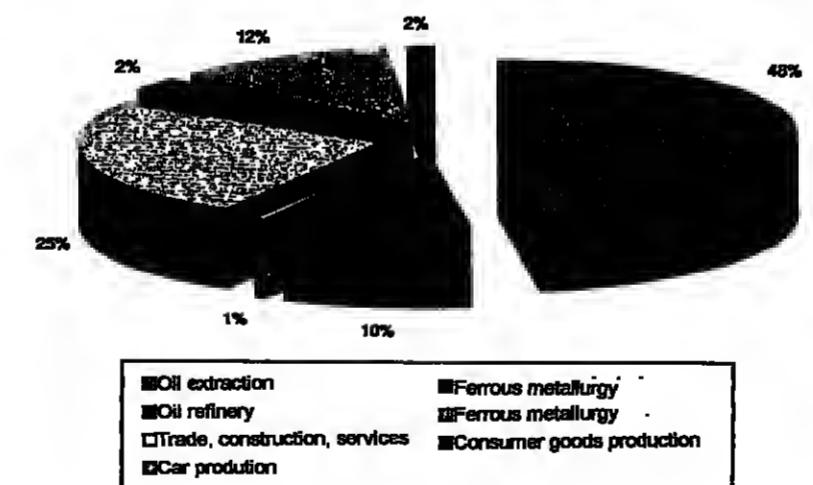
The economic changes Mr Korovin has inaugurated at Uralmash have been equally radical. He slashed the workforce down to 19,000 and shed unprofitable parts of the factory, such as the factory farm and sports complex and, controversially, Spetsstekhnika, a daughter factory

Built atop the abundant natural resources of the Urals, Yekaterinburg is the capital of Russia's industrial heartland.

Two time zones east of Moscow, this quintessentially Russian city has also been the stage and the starting point for the country's most important national drama in this century. The tsar and his family were executed here, factories withdrawn from European Russia were rebuilt in the Urals to power the Soviet war effort, and Mr Boris Yeltsin, leader of Russia's newest upheavals, began his career in Yekaterinburg.

Not quite four years later, amid less fanfare, Yekaterinburg and the Urals region are playing an equally crucial role in Russia's halting transition to a market economy. Taken together, the Urals region and neighbouring western Siberia are home to one third of Russia's people and

The area, with 40% of industrial capacity, has a vital role in the moves towards a market economy

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Java Tobacco	4.02	Cigarette Making	Moscow
Leningrad Optics & Mechanical Plant (LOMO)	4.80	Precision Manufacturing	St. Petersburg
Mil' Helicopter Plant	7.55	Design and Production of Helicopters	Moscow
Moscow Jewellery Plant	24.48	Jewellery Making	Moscow
Ryazan Oil Processing Plant	6.96	Oil Refinery	Ryazan
Tomsk Oil and Chemical Plant	18.56	Oil Refinery	Tomsk
Tourcenter Suzzel	11.65	Tourist Industry	Vladimir District
Ulyanovsky Automobile Plant (UAZ)	17.02	Car Production	Ulyanovsk
Varigazneftegaz	8.04	Oil and Gas Extraction	Tyumen District

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The Voucher Investment Fund MMM-Invest is financially and legally fully independent of companies in the MMM association and the MMM Joint Stock Company. Events surrounding this company received a lot of attention in the Russian and foreign press in the middle of 1994.

150

**I**t is too early to say whether Vladimir Vasilyev, the newly appointed artistic director of the Bolshoi Theatre, will fulfil his dream. A distinguished dancer himself, he has pledged to breathe new vigour and variety into a ballet and opera company which he believes had grown stale under the iron grip of his predecessor and bitter rival, Yuri Grigorovich.

Equally uncertain are the prospects faced by Vladimir Kokomin, the theatre's reform-minded general director who was stood down in March by President Boris Yeltsin, only to be reinstated by Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin. Kokomin wants to replace the old jobs-for-life system with short-term contracts; this led to a bitter quarrel with Grigorovich.

But whatever the outcome, it says something about today's Russia that a power struggle at this 215-year-old repository of musical excellence should be commanding the attention of Russia's leadership and charting classes.

Behind all the brassy hedonism of a newly capitalist country, another trend is discernible. Artistic tastes are getting more conservative and more nationalist; there is a renewed yearning for cultural products which are both home-grown and of unmistakeably high quality.

Television bosses report that their audience is bored with the cheap American pop which hit the screen after the communist system collapsed. They are responding with more frequent showings of classic Soviet cinema; and some foresee an

imminent resurgence in good made-for-television drama.

In the final years of Soviet rule, a generation of young Russians seemed to lose interest in great literature, in part because Pushkin and Tolstoy had been drummed into them in the same dry and mechanical way as the thoughts of Marx and Lenin.

When the ideological shackles fall, the public – if it reads books at all – turned feverishly to everything the old system had forbidden: sex manuals, badly translated American

Television audiences are tiring of cheap American pop and are being offered more frequent showings of classic Soviet cinema

thrillers and the works of Dale Carnegie. Only recently have classical novels started to appear in the shops again.

Among the avant-garde artists of St Petersburg, which sees itself as the nation's cultural capital, some of the more trend-conscious characters have relapsed into careful imitation of the Russian painters of a century ago.

And the search for old-fashioned excellence is focusing on the Soviet era as much as the tsarist one. One of the biggest

artistic events in St Petersburg recently was an exhibition of the Soviet style known as Socialist Realism. It sent people spinning back into a world whose passing had been too quick for many to absorb.

"It provoked a huge range of feelings," says local art critic Alex Kahn. "Everything from sober understanding to nostalgia to humour – things which are too painful to recollect and positive emotions as well."

Bastions of modernism, such as the Borey Art Gallery which also sells experimental poetry and runs a bohemian cafe, have regained just a hint of the siege atmosphere which pervaded Leningrad's counterculture in communist days.

Before there was political censorship, now there is economic censorship," says Ms Tanya Ponomarenko, artistic director at the gallery which tries to buck the conservative trend by providing an outlet for painters and writers whose commitment to the avant-garde is serious.

Part of her problem is that Russia's new rich have not decided what sort of art, if any, they want to patronise. But Ms Ponomarenko was pleasantly surprised recently to receive a cry for help from a newly established museum of modern art in an obscure but mineral-rich region of Siberia. Could this be the long-overdue cul-

tural rebirth of the Russian heartland?

At the Comedian's Refuge theatre, a few decaying streets away, they are also talking about an artistic revival of the provinces, albeit of a tamer, and probably more typical, sort.

The municipality of Severodvinsk, a grim Arctic defence town, recently invited the company to fly up and stage a production.

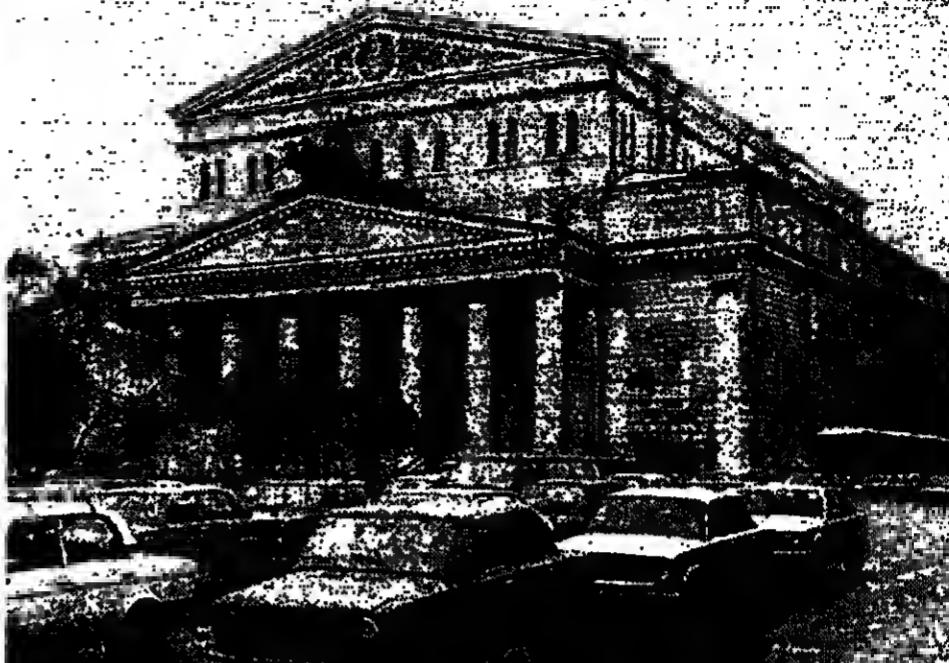
The theatre's leading actor, Alexei Isopovit, is a moderate exponent of the new nationalism. "I like Vaudeville and I like Tennessee Williams," he says. "But if we did either I would want to put them firmly into a Russian setting."

Actors' wages at Comedian's Refuge, at Rb160,000 a month, are still miserly, but its small premises are consistently full, and nobody is talking about a total collapse any more.

In the immediate aftermath of the Soviet downfall, there were moments of real doubt as to whether the great theatres and concert halls of Moscow and St. Petersburg could survive without state subsidies.

By now, at least in the great cultural institutions, the immediate threat of extinction has eased, thanks to sponsorship, foreign tours and a modest improvement in public finances.

The recovery should not be



Symbol of Russia: the future of Moscow's renowned Bolshoi Theatre is the centre of a fierce political battle

exaggerated. Economic change has wrought devastation on all but the highest level of cultural life throughout Russia, premises which might once have been used for concerts or ballets are now given up to beauty contests, casinos and strip-tease shows.

It would be premature to say that this damage has been undone. Russia is still a nation of under-employed opera singers, virtuous pianists forced to play in restaurants, and dejected novelists who can no longer find the worthy periodicals known as "thick journals"

to publish their outpourings. But more Russians seem to be nostalgic, sometimes uncritically, for the good things – including artistic excellence – which went down the drain with the dirty bath-water of communism.

In the 10 years since Russia

embarked on the roller-coaster called perestroika, cultural life – like almost everything else – has been through some wild extremes: from the excitement of freedom to a facile love affair with the West, from raunchy nihilism to jaded indifference.

The romance of the newly liberated cultural underground faded rather quickly in the eyes of most Russians, but it was artificially prolonged for several years by a Western fad called Gorbymania.

Now the whole cycle has largely been played out. The first flush of Western interest in post-Soviet culture has receded, and those artists who have not emigrated westwards will probably be forced to look inwards in future, both for inspiration and sponsorship.

In recent weeks, the rediscovery of Russian forms of excellence has been highlighted not only by power struggles at the Bolshoi but also by the reopening of Moscow's Tretyakov Gallery after 10 years of repair and improvement.

For lovers of Russian painting, from the icons of Andrei Rublyov to the arresting contours of Kandinsky, the gallery's reappearance is a long-awaited delight.

With a bit of luck, it might also provide the inspiration for some young genius who has embarked on what should logically be the next phase in Russia's development: a marriage between ancient cultural roots and modern Russian reality, a strange, bitter-sweet world of s-m, fast bucks and tragic wars.

**Chrystia Freeland** describes the new dynamic class of factory manager and meets three of its members

## Industry pins its hopes on youthful saviours

**I**NDUSTRIAL production on a gargantuan scale was one of the pillars of the centrally planned economy and directors of large factories consequently occupied a privileged place in the Soviet Union's political hierarchy. Desk tops crowded with half a dozen telephones and a fleet of black Volgas were the outward symbols of the near feudal power the traditional Soviet factory director exerted over the lives of the thousands of people who received

their jobs, homes, vacations, groceries, medical care and children's schooling from their workplace. But, for most of the Soviet Union's industrial elite, the collapse of communism has brought a precipitous fall from grace. Russia's stumbling efforts to create a market economy have transformed many of their enterprises from cosseted workshops of communism into the financially troubled step-children of capitalism, where work stoppages

and layoffs have become commonplace. Flashy young Muscovite bankers, with fortunes accumulated almost overnight, are unseating the old Soviet industrial lords as the new economic masters.

"Unfortunately, today it is easier to make money in the financial markets than by manufacturing," is the sad observation of Mr Vladimir Kadannikov, who, as the director of the Avtovaz factory, producer of Lada cars, was one of the Soviet Union's

youngest industrial bosses. Mr Sergei Aleksashenko, a market reformer who recently left his post as deputy minister of finance, agrees. "Ten or 15 years ago, a factory director who could just walk into the office of the General Secretary of the Communist Party was a very big man," Mr Aleksashenko says. "But, today, a new phenomenon has appeared. Bankers are now the chief partners of the government and they make their money not through

investment but by reallocating money."

Although bankers are the undisputed kings of the new Russia, recently, a new generation of factory managers has quietly begun to emerge. Young and dynamic, with only tentative connections to the old economic order, they are struggling to turn some of Russia's crippled industry giants around. Their success is crucial for the long-term prospects of market reforms.

### □ I. Bakaleynik

#### Aircraft take-over

When Iosif Bakaleynik, an urbane product of Harvard Business School, took charge of the Vladimir Tractor Factory after a battle with the former director, he was seen as the victor in Russia's first western-style take-over.

After a previous, unsuccessful take-over bid, Mr Bakaleynik ousted the old manager and took over the plant in March, 1994. His tenure became even more secure this past February after Mr Bakaleynik's main backer, Mr Len Blavatnik, an American investor, increased his holdings through various subsidiaries to more than 50 per cent.

Well versed in the lexicon of his alma mater, Mr Bakaleynik describes the Vladimir Tractor Factory as "a normal turnaround situation". He inherited a factory hobbled by a heavy debt load – which he has tried to ease by opening up credit lines worth \$14m – and perverse Russian financial practices, which included shipping goods without ascertaining the client's ability to pay.

But Mr Bakaleynik, who had worked at the Vladimir Tractor Factory before a government scholarship took him to Harvard, has been confronted by problems more confounding than those posed at Harvard.

The \$2,500 price tag for the 15 horsepower tractors Vladimir produces makes them the cheapest offering on the international tractor market and has given the Vladimir Tractor Factory a purchaser for each tractor that it makes.

But this cut-rate price means the Vladimir Tractor Factory operates on painfully low profit margins. Worse still, when Mr Bakaleynik brought in McKinsey, the US management consultants, to assess his

factory they told him that, according to American accounting standards, instead of making a Rb7.2bn profit before taxes last year, the factory earned only Rb2.2bn.

Mr Bakaleynik is sufficiently confident of his management skills to believe he will succeed in widening the factory's profit margins and extending its markets. But he is powerless in the face of an inept central government which is crippling its manufacturers with high inflation and heavy taxes.

"Thanks to the government, we made a loss last year," Mr Bakaleynik fumes. "Russia is a jungle in which, at any time, you can expect a tax man to appear from around the corner who can wipe out your company at the stroke of a pen."

"My job is to position the company so that it benefits from stabilisation," he says, "but I must also take care that it does not get too hurt from continued chaos."

### □ Viktor Korovin

#### Heavy plant crossing

As one of Russia's leading heavy engineering plants, Uralmash is known as "the mother of Russia's factories" because so many of the country's industrial giants operate using Uralmash machinery.

Mr Korovin, who had worked at Uralmash before spending 18 months working in joint venture companies in Germany and Austria, became director of Uralmash in January, 1992, after his predecessor's fatal heart attack left the factory without a manager.

Mr Korovin, a slight 42-year-old who has spearheaded a radical but painful restructuring scheme, suspects that the workers did not fully understand what they were getting themselves into when they approved his nomination to take over the plant.

"At the time, many people supported my programme without really comprehending what it involved. They were just tired of not having a director so they picked me," Mr Korovin says. "But when I

actually began to do what I said I would then a strong resistance emerged within the workers' collective."

Given that Mr Korovin's restructuring has brought the factory's workforce down to 19,000, from the 55,000 it employed in its heyday, that resistance is not surprising.

Moreover, Mr Korovin has chipped away at one of the shipbolts of the Soviet economy, the role factories traditionally played as social welfare providers. He sold the factory farm and has negotiated a deal with the local government gradually to transfer the rest of the factory's social infrastructure to the state.

Together with Russia's other

manufacturers, Uralmash has

suffered a deep fall in output.

But Mr Korovin is hopeful

that, if the government makes

even partial progress towards

bringing down inflation, this

year Uralmash's output could

grow by 5 to 8 per cent.

These hopeful signs, especially when contrasted with

the general devastation of the Russian industrial landscape, are slowly winning back the confidence of those workers lucky enough to still have jobs at Uralmash.

In 1992 my workers thought I was crazy, out of line," Mr Korovin says. "But, now that other big factories such as ZIL and Rostomash have begun to experience frequent work stoppages and pay their wages six months late my workers have begun to say that their director was not so crazy after all."

had gone to work at the factory when I finished the institute, the greatest promotion I could have received by now would have been to be man-

ager of one of the production lines," Mr Korovin says.

So, instead of joining the aircraft factory, he became involved in various trading companies, the sector which flourished in the first months of Russia's move to a market economy, and then switched to banking, becoming regional director of Avtovazbank, one of Russia's leading new banks.

When a local court forced Aviakor into receivership in

one of Russia's first big bank-

ruptcy proceedings, Mr Korovin

jumped at the opportunity to return to his first love, aircraft building. Mr Korovin,

whose salary is tied to Aviakor's success at paying back its

creditors, inherited a factory

burdened by a heavy debt load – which he has tried to ease by opening up credit lines worth \$14m – and perverse Russian financial practices, which included shipping goods without ascertaining the client's ability to pay.

But Mr Korovin, who had

worked at the Vladimir Tractor

Factory before a government

scholarship took him to Har-

vard, has been confronted by

problems more confounding

than those posed at Harvard.

The strength of this regional

sentiment could be put to the

test on June 18, when elections

for the governor's post and a

referendum on greater regional

autonomy are scheduled to be

held, unless Moscow succeeds

in its efforts to block the bal-

lot.

The tentative indications of

an economic upturn in Rus-

sia's industrial heartland are a

cheerful sign for the Kremlin.

they won't be damaged."

Even if summed down facto-

ries like Uralmash help Yekaterinburg to lead a national

economic recovery, the domi-

nance of ethnic republics

within the Russian federa-

tion effectively enjoys auton-

omy than the oblasts.

"We are one of the few donor

oblasts in Russia and we do

not like this," says Mr Valeri

Trushnikov, head of the oblast

administration installed by

Moscow after Mr Rossel was

sacked. "Many of the subdi-

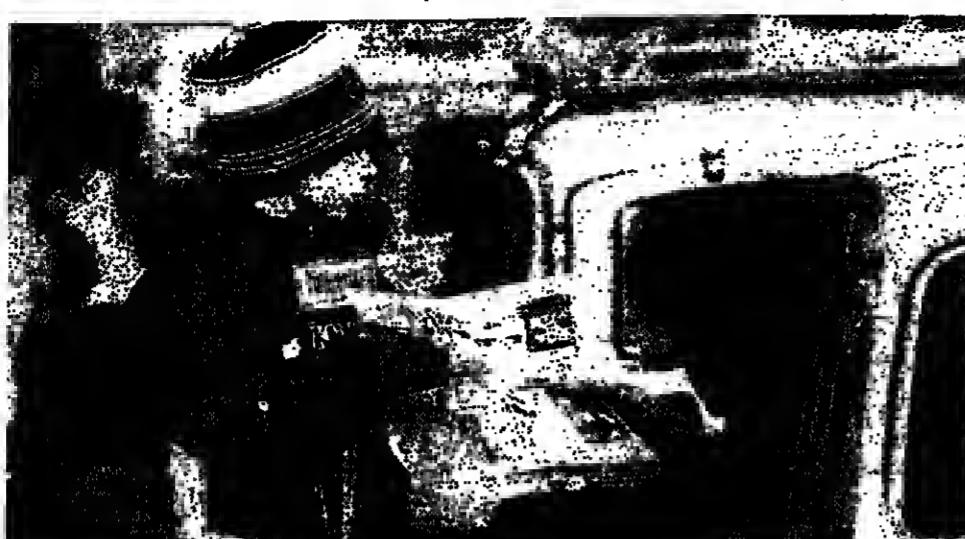
vided regions live better than

we do because when they run

## RUSSIA 10

Newspapers are learning the hard way that freedom is not always a licence to print, writes Neil Buckley

## Dictatorship of the bottom line



Hot from the press: a reader grabs a copy of the top-selling *Moskovsky Komsomolets*

For seven decades, Russian newspapers battled with censorship and government or Communist party control; in recent years their biggest struggle has been with commercial realities.

Once were the days when official statistics could boast that 159m newspapers were published daily in the Soviet Union. The break-up of the Union brought with it a big fall in newspaper readership.

However, the transformation of some older Soviet papers into commercially successful products, together with the launch of new papers which are becoming powerful publishing houses and the rapid growth of the advertising market, suggests the Russian press has a reasonably vibrant future.

Moreover, often brutally graphic reporting of the war in Chechnya by newspapers and television, in the face of stern political attacks, demonstrated the extent of media freedoms won in the 10 years since the advent of glasnost, and the determination to defend them.

But the effective rule became of a dispute with the Kremlin of Mr Vladimir Gusinsky, head of the Most banking group and - as the owner of a television station and several newspapers - Russia's first media magnate, demonstrates that there are still limits to those freedoms.

When Mr Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in 1985, the Soviet Union boasted several of the world's biggest-selling papers: *Trud* (Labour) with an 18.2m circulation; *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, the newspaper of the Young Communist

League, with 17m; *Pravda*, the Party paper, with 11.3m, and its youth version *Pionerskaya Pravda* with 11m; *Selskaya Zhizn* (Country Life) - 8.7m; and *Izvestia*, the government paper,

formed from an obscure political weekly with about 10,000 readers in 1980, to the world's biggest-selling newspaper with a 34m circulation in 1990.

Late in the glasnost period, new independent papers such as *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* (The Independent), *Kurorty* (Chimes) and *Kommersant* (The Businessman) gained wide popularity, along with tabloid-style papers such as *SPID-Info* (Aids Information) and *Chastnaya Zhizn* (Private Life).

A second upheaval came with the onset of economic

reform in 1992. As paper, printing and distribution costs rose towards western levels, newspapers suffered the twin blows of being cut loose from organisations that had funded them, and a plunge in subscriptions.

Between 60 and 80 per cent

of the readership of most Soviet papers was accounted for by subscribers paying half-yearly subscriptions in September and April. As living standards fell and newspaper prices spiralled, subscription figures in September 1992 dropped to 5 per cent of their

September 1990 level. Higher sales from street stalls took up some of the slack, but subscription rates never recovered. For *Izvestia*, circulation has fallen from 8m in the Soviet era to about 800,000.

"In the old days, people subscribed to five, seven, or even 10 different publications. Now they subscribe to one," says Mr Yuri Kirpichnikov, editor of the newspaper *Delovoï Mir* (Business World).

Not all papers weathered the storm. The struggling *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* is the source of takeover speculation; while the *Rossiya* newspaper has cut back from a daily to a weekly.

What saved many newspapers from extinction was the development of the advertising market. Mr Sergei Vislov, of the Moscow advertising monitoring group Nek-SV, estimates that the ad market grew from almost nothing at the start of 1992 to between \$350m and \$500m last year. Of that, about \$250m was press advertising, two-thirds in the Moscow-based press.

So who is prospering in the new, commercial market? Many privatised papers, such as *Kommersant*, *Pravda*, *Izvestia* and *Moskovsky Komsomolets*, whose titles reflect their Soviet origins, have abandoned socialist dogma to become successful general-interest papers. Several have

### Daily newspapers reach

January 1995

A total paper

*Kommersant* 1.2m

*Pravda* 1.1m

*Izvestia* 800,000

*Rossiyskaya Gazeta* 600,000

*Moskovsky Komsomolets* 500,000

*Solidarnost Rossii* 400,000

*Selskaya Zhizn* 300,000

*Iz-Prik* 200,000

*Pravda* 200,000

## RUSSIA 11

Ivan the Terrible's conquests are at stake, writes Chrystia Freeland

## Boris of all the Russias

To western eyes, the defining moment in Russia's great political transformation came in August, 1991, when Mr Boris Yeltsin, the Russian president, led the ultimately successful democratic resistance to a hardline coup.

The image of Mr Yeltsin standing astride a tank in front of the White House and calling on soldiers to join the sea of pro-democracy civilian protesters gave western observers a visual key to the upheaval Russia was undergoing: Russian democrats were fighting Russian communists, and the democrats won.

But, together with this struggle to dismantle communism, Russia has been undergoing another profound political change: the steady collapse of the Russian state. Now that the communist system has been buried, and its resurrection seems increasingly unlikely, the evisceration of the Russian state is emerging as the dominant issue in Russian politics.

It is an issue which draws much of its power from the historical magnitude of Russia's loss. Modern Russia began in the sixteenth century, when Ivan the Terrible launched a state-building project known as "the gathering of the lands of Rus". With a combination of brutal force and persuasion he laid the foundations for an authoritarian, centrally ruled Russian state whose inexorable expansion would continue for the next four centuries. The Bolshevik coup d'état brought only a temporary set-back: after an initial hemorrhage of power and territory, Russia's new communist lords consolidated their authority, and by the end of the Second World War they were masters of a greater swathe of the globe than any tsar had ever been.

The collapse of communism, which the west celebrated as a historic triumph of democracy over totalitarianism, has been a defeat of dizzying proportions for the Russian state. The erosion which began in 1990 with the loss of Moscow's eastern European satellites became a landslide in 1991, when the Soviet Union disintegrated, creating 15 new states. Even within its newly reduced boundaries, Russia's statehood was fragile: the heavily armed Chechen fighters were the most bellicose of dozens of autonomous republics and regions which began to demand greater independence from Moscow.

Initially, the struggle to destroy communism overshadowed the enfeblement of the Russian state. In December, 1991 Mr Yeltsin was one of three republican leaders who signed the founding document of the Commonwealth of Independent States, the agreement which allowed the non-Russian states to achieve independence from Moscow without bloodshed. Within Russia, one of Mr Yeltsin's earliest and most famous mottoes was his call for regional leaders to "take as

much power as you can handle".

But today, when the collapse of communism is becoming a historical event and private property has become the dominant form of ownership in Russia, the question of statehood is emerging as Russia's most important political issue.

The war in Chechnya marked the brutal beginning of Russia's new political era. To many western observers, Russia's still unfinished campaign to subdue Chechen separatists

Reformers are divided over the use of armed force to prevent Chechnya from seceding

appeared to be the death rattle of the Russian military machine. If Russian hardliners could not swiftly bring fewer than 1m Chechens to heel, the logic went, what chance had they of taking control of the entire Russian state?

But within Russia, the Chechen war has had different ramifications. Its very brutality is being used by the Kremlin to bring other recalcitrant regions to heel. In his state of the union address in February, Mr Yeltsin drove that message home warning "the peoples of Russia" that devastated Chechnya is an example of what happens to would-be separatists.

Moreover, Mr Yeltsin's refusal to waver from his military course in Chechnya, in the face of fierce domestic and international opposition, has been the manifestation of a tough style of governance Russia has not known since the glory days of communism. As Mr Evgeni Kisilev, Russia's most popular TV pundit, puts it, "this war shows that Yeltsin can spit on public opinion, and get away with it".

Mr Sergei Kovayev, a member of parliament whose outspoken criticism of the Chechen war cost him his post as Russia's human rights commissioner, believes the conflict in the Caucasus will have an even more chilling effect on Russian politics.

"Some form of authoritarian power will be built up," Mr Kovayev predicts. "There will be a catastrophic widening of the gulf between the government and the people and the country will probably sink back to the level we know from the last years of Soviet power."

The clearest sign that the Chechen war has been the beginning of a new political epoch in Russia is the rift which it has provoked between Mr Yeltsin and the democratic forces which, in the past, had been his most reliable supporters. Russia's Choice, led by Mr Yegor Gaidar, who served as Mr Yeltsin's prime minister during Russia's boldest period of reforms, is the country's best organised pro-reform party with the strongest representation in parliament.

But the Chechen war, which Russia's Choice strongly criticises

ised, forced the party into open opposition to the president. That split has provoked internal dissent within Russia's Choice, whose anti-war stance cost it the support of its leading financial backer, and set Mr Yeltsin on a search for tougher allies.

"The real losers are the reformers," says Mr Michael McPaul, a Moscow-based senior consultant at the Carnegie Endowment for Democracy. "They are now internally divided over the war and during the next elections their patriotism will be called into question."

The Chechen war has been the immediate catalyst for the disarray within the democratic camp, but its confusion is also an inevitable reaction to the broader realignment taking place within the Russian political arena.

This political reconfiguration was recently described by *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*, the Russian government's official newspaper. "If previously there was one camp of 'democrats' while 'red-browns' [the Russian term for communists and ultra-nationalists] were on the other side, then today that division has lost all meaning," the newspaper wrote. "Today the division is between those who

are against a strong state and those who support the strengthening of Russian statehood, regardless of their economic orientation."

The effort to find a place within these new pro or anti-state battle lines has intensified as Russia gears up for parliamentary elections, scheduled for December, 1995, and a presidential ballot due to be held in June, 1996. Public disillusionment with the traumatic political and economic upheavals Russia has undergone over the past three years has led most observers to predict a communist and nationalist landslide at the polls.

The anti-reform mood of the public has forced politicians within the current government and democrats who, even if they are in the opposition are seen as the initiators of reforms, to scurry to reposition themselves.

"It would be political suicide to campaign on a platform that says 'we are the people who brought economic reforms to Russia,'" explains Dr Sarah Mendelson, a programme officer at the Moscow office of the National Democratic Institute, an American foundation which advises Russian politicians on party building.

As a result, Ms Mendelson believes that "Yeltsin is going to try to reposition himself as a stability leader. He will try to distance himself from reform and he could get some mileage out of that."

But some observers believe

that no amount of fancy political footwork can protect Russia's current leaders from the wrath of the country's disaffected electorate. This prediction has led a growing number of Russian businessmen and politicians close to the Kremlin to suggest that the elections be called off altogether.

The mounting calls for a postponement of the elections do not with the emergence of Russian statehood as the country's most pressing political issue.

This new political landscape has presented Mr Yeltsin with a troubling political choice. The president must decide whether he wants to become the father of Russian democracy or a late 20th century tsar whose strong hand steers his nation back to greatness.



President Boris Yeltsin (shown above in an anti-war cartoon in *Izvestia*) is trying to preserve the empire founded by Tsar Ivan the Terrible (right)

istrative structures of the government".

Neither option can be particularly attractive for a man who, a little less than four years ago, appeared to be the leader who would bring Russia a new kind of strength as a modern, democratic nation with a thriving, western-style, capitalist economy. Paradoxically, now that Mr Yeltsin's regime has succeeded in laying the communist ghost to rest, this dream scenario seems increasingly improbable.

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## RUSSIA 12

## ■ Profile: COMMUNIST LEADER GENNADY ZYUGANOV

**Red but far from dead**

Gennady Zyuganov and a fervent supporter: presidential hopeful for 1996

Four years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia's communists are girding themselves for this year's regional and parliamentary elections and aiming for a return to the political mainstream.

The communist party of Russia, which was shattered, reviled, and banned in the wake of the failed 1991 coup, expects to emerge as one of the biggest political groupings after December's parliamentary elections and is likely to field a powerful presidential candidate to 1996. The person largely responsible for this transformation is Mr Gennady Zyuganov, its stocky pudgy-faced 50-year-old leader.

A lifelong communist, Mr Zyuganov has proved himself to be a combative speaker, wily tactician and capable organiser. Stripping communism of its "foreign" influences, Zyuganov has succeeded in shaping a more overtly nationalist programme producing a heady political brew for Russia's disenchanted and dispossessed.

The party's chief aims are to "establish the power of the workers and patriotic forces, preserve the integrity of the state, to revive the union of Soviet peoples and to ensure the national unity of the Russian people". It has become an effective mouthpiece for those suffering in the industrial wastelands and agricultural heartlands of modern Russia.

Mr Dmitry Volkov, political commentator on the *Sovetskaya* newspaper, says the party draws on a sense of nostalgia for the simple certainties of the Soviet Union but also offers electors a greater sense of security about the future. "People are sick of ideology. They do not want communism but many do want the social protection which communism appears to offer," he says.

Mr Zyuganov's communist party claims to have 350,000 members giving it the broadest base of any Russia's political groupings. Newspaper reports suggest that Mr Zyuganov is already trying to coax that organisational base to strike electoral deals with other presidential candidates.

The rumour mill suggests Mr Zyuganov is even talking with Mr Grigory Yavlinsky, the rad-

ical economist and self-declared presidential aspirant who heads the Yabloko faction, offering to support him in the second round of voting if a communist did not make it through the first.

Other communist party leaders talk of alliances with women's groups, protest movements of cheated investors, the agrarian lobby and organisations of army officers.

The party has played a prominent role in the anti-war movement stirred up by the invasion of Chechnya. While the liberal democratic groupings, such as Russia's Choice, have splintered over their opposition to the Chechen conflict, the communist party has used it as an effective rallying cry. There are also about 70 other communist parties of various views in Russia – including Mr Viktor Anpilov's notoriously hardline grouping – with which Mr Zyuganov's party has a loose coalition of interests.

Born during the second world war in the Oryol region, Mr Zyuganov joined the communist party in 1966. The die-hard ideologue then followed a typical career path in the local party rising to become a member of the national party's central committee. He was one of the leading party opponents of Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's party has a loose coalition of interests.

"They simultaneously promise to lower prices and increase wages, to strike out at inflation and unemployment, to guarantee in every way the rights of the workers and peasants, servicemen and academics, grandparents and the young, employees and pensioners, the Russian people and other

nationalities. And the mechanism for this promised miracle state regulation," he wrote.

Mr Latsis depicted a party that was incapable of positive solutions because the results of its disastrous 74-year experiment were still too fresh in the memory. Instead it had to build its support on a negative base simply criticising the current powers for their failings.

Rival politicians also criticise Mr Zyuganov for the company he keeps. The communist party leader often shares a platform with extremists of many likes fishing in the same political waters as Mr Vladimir Zhirinovsky, the ultra-nationalist leader of Russia's inaptly-named Liberal Democratic Party of Russia.

This tactical flexibility may be condemned as unprincipled by the party's opponents but it could yet enable the communists to achieve their target of winning 25 per cent of the votes in the forthcoming parliamentary elections.

Reformed communist parties have made a strong electoral showing in other central and eastern European countries. Mr Zyuganov has ensured that from being consigned to the dustbin of history, Russia's communist party will be impossible to ignore.

John Thornhill

"Russia is destined by her geopolitical position to be a great power, and it does not begin her to engage in self-reproach."

THESE are not the words of some stern conservative critic of President Boris Yeltsin, but the new voice of the Moscovite mainstream: in this case, a policy statement from the Russian Unity and Concord Party, headed by a deputy prime minister, Mr Sergei Shakhrai.

As Russia grows in confidence, and the pro-Western euphoria that followed the fall of communism rapidly ebbe, ideas about foreign policy that were once confined to the nationalist end of the ideological spectrum are passing into conventional wisdom.

In the early days of Mr Yeltsin's presidency, when he was committed to a full-blown alliance with the US, one had to scour Moscow's hard-line press to read the argument that the US was taking cynical advantage of Russia's post-communist weakness.

Now that view can be heard on the lips of middle of the road commentators and policy-makers, along with many other opinions that have just become respectable.

Two key arms agreements – the Start-2 accord on long-range nuclear weapons, and the treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) – are now seen across a wide band of Muscovite opinion as products of Russia's temporary decline, which need to be reconsidered now that recovery is underway.

Other newly respectable sentiments include a feeling that post-communist Russia was too quick to join in Western-inspired sanctions against its traditional friends, from Serbia to Libya to Iraq; a wish for closer relations with countries to Russia's immediate south, especially India; and among Russia's Western partners, a strong preference for Germany over the US.

From a Western viewpoint, a string of Russian diplomatic successes – highlighted by Mr Yeltsin's admission last summer to the Group of Seven summit in Naples – was rudely interrupted in December by the onslaught on the separatist enclave of Chechnya.

The indiscriminate use of aerial bombardment, and the

background for President Bill Clinton's visit to Moscow next month to attend celebrations marking the 50th anniversary of victory over Nazi Germany.

Mr Andrei Kortikov, deputy director of Moscow's US and Canada Institute, sees little prospect of a breakthrough at a time when both Presidents are handicapped by domestic pressures. "All the easy things in US-Russian relations have been done already," he says.

In Mr Shakhrai's manifesto, there is a revealing list of priorities for external relations: first, military and economic integration among the ex-Soviet republics; second, better relations in the Asia-Pacific region, particularly China and Japan; and third, a European security structure in which Russia plays a full part. The idea of a foreign policy oriented mainly to the US is dismissed as outdated.

"The honeymoon is over," he bluntly told Mr Warren Christopher, the US secretary of state, in Geneva in March. The darkening US-Russian atmosphere was highlighted by the litany of concerns

over a putting a trade agreement on ice – than the US, but rightly or wrongly, Russian officials seem more confident of overcoming the EU's objections than they are of mending fences with the US.

Mr Andrei Kozyrev, Russia's soft-spoken foreign minister, has shown dexterity in adapting his language and style to the new mood of self-assertiveness as a whole.

Yet Russian policy-makers, including those who have criticised the war in Chechnya, see the cooling of relations with the West through a different light. They blame the

lack of all civilian control over the operation, seemed to the West to be in direct violation of accords on the proportionate use of force which had been agreed at the European security summit in Budapest only days earlier.

After some initial hesitation, both the US and the European Union came to the conclusion that Russian behaviour in Chechnya had cast a shadow over Russian-Western relations as a whole.

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They see the US as the main force behind efforts to enlarge Nato, a project for which – in Moscow's assessment – there is little real enthusiasm in Western Europe; and they also resent Washington's use of non-proliferation arguments to obstruct Russia's exports, from rocket sales to India to proposed transfer of nuclear technology to Iran.

If anything, the European Union has probably shown greater toughness over Chechnya.

All this provides a murky

US – particularly the new Republican majority in Congress – for seeking trouble with Russia.

Mr Lukin has linked the ratification of Start-2 with many other issues, including Nato expansion – which Moscow strongly opposes – the future of the CFE, US plans for new anti-missile defences, and the general US-Russian climate. "I wouldn't risk presenting the Start-2 accord to Parliament for ratification at a time when we [Russians] are not being taken into proper account," he has said.

Yet the renewed interest in Asian partnerships throughout the Russian establishment is unmistakable: where free-market economists are fascinated by the success of Japan, a growing pro-anthoritarian lobby is frankly admiring China's ability to achieve rapid growth while shrugging off Western lectures on human rights and political reform.

In practice, Russia seems unlikely to do anything so clumsy as make a straight choice between its relations with Western Europe, Asia and the US. To judge by the increasing sophistication of non-communist Russia's diplomacy, Moscow will probably continue to play one partner against the other with consummate skill.

**Chrystia Freeland studies Russian attitudes to the other CIS states**

**Cautious farewell to empire**

The term Russians use to describe the other former Soviet republics, "the near abroad", betrays Russia's larger failure to regard the territories once ruled by tsars and communist commissars alike as entirely foreign.

Russian leaders still feel they have a natural right to influence the other former Soviet republics' foreign and defence policies and in some cases even intervene in domestic issues. This sense of entitlement is strengthened by the presence in the newly independent states of 25m ethnic Russians, who have become minorities when they were once masters.

Mounting domestic calls for the consolidation of "Great Russia" might be expected to inspire Moscow to take an even tougher line with its former Soviet brethren. Indeed, one reason why those former Soviet republics which feel most vulnerable to a resurgence of an expansionist Russia, such as Estonia, reacted so vociferously to Moscow's military intervention in Chechnya was their fear that the war in the Caucasus foreshadowed the rise of a more broadly neo-imperialist Russia.

But, instead, Russia's attitude towards its immediate neighbours appears to be developing along more subtle lines. Three years after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of 15 independent states in its place, a policy of what might be termed pragmatic imperialism is emerging in the Kremlin.

Russian leaders continue to believe that they should be first among equals in the territory which once formed the Soviet Union, but they are learning that they can exert more influence in the weaker states and less in the stronger ones; that, in many cases, re-absorption of other former Soviet republics might not be worth the cost; and that the more oblique tools of economic dominance can be more effective than demanding outright political hegemony.

The first rule of Russia's emerging doctrine of pragmatic imperialism is to differentiate among the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union.

The weaker states – the Central Asia republics, the Caucasus and Belarus – are less able to resist growing Russian influence and in many cases openly welcome it. Thus, earlier this year Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus agreed to form a customs union and Kazakhstan and Russia took the radical

said that Crimea was Ukraine's internal affair.

The second rule of pragmatic Russian imperialism is that total reabsorption of the former Soviet republics, even those which are clamouring to re-enter the Russian fold, may not be in Moscow's economic interests. This has been the lesson of Russia's relations with economically backward Belarus.

Proposals for a currency union between the two Slavic states faltered last year after Russian officials realised that readmitting Belarus into the rouble zone would put an additional brake on their efforts to halt the ruble's headlong inflationary slide.

Russia's reluctance to allow economically weaker former Soviet republics back into the rouble zone has become so powerful that even Mr Nursultan Nazarbayev, the Kazakh president who is the leading advocate of full economic reunion, admitted this year that the opportunity to recreate a single currency had gone.

Economic considerations also form the basis of the third rule of pragmatic Russian imperialism. As market reforms have taken fragile hold of the Russian economy, Moscow's leaders have begun to understand that they can ensure Russia's continued dominance over the former Soviet republics through the less obtrusive levers of economic control, rather than insisting on outright political and military supremacy.

An example of this tendency is Russia's insistence that Russian companies with close links to the government be cut in on the big deals in the oil-rich Caspian region. Another is the emerging policy of Gazprom, Russia's monopoly natural gas exporter, to propose debt for equity swaps to the former Soviet republics which have accrued massive unpaid bills for their natural gas.

Even stubbornly independence-minded republics such as Ukraine appear to be reaching the conclusion that this new pragmatic form of Russian influence is inevitable, and perhaps not entirely unwelcome. In an effort to reassure the Ukrainian people, whom more than three centuries of authoritarian rule from Russia has made wary of Russian control in any guise, Mr Kuchma insisted last month that "there's no great difference between dollars and roubles" when they are invested in the Ukrainian economy.

Mixed feelings: a departing Russian soldier and his Estonian sweetheart

Mr Kuchma, who campaigned on a broadly pro-Russian platform, has emerged as a stalwart defender of the elements of Ukrainian sovereignty.

Following the example set by Mr Kravchuk, Mr Kuchma has refused to join any CIS agreements which would infringe upon Ukraine's independence in foreign policy and defence. Kiev has even assumed a sceptical stance on economic links, which Mr Kuchma broadly endorses, because of its contention that the CIS is an ineffectual institution and one in which Russia exercises undue influence.

On the eve of the most recent CIS meeting, which Russian and Kazakh leaders had been trumpeting as an opportunity to set real reintegration into motion, Mr Kuchma offered the decidedly upbeat opinion that "a shapeless organisation like the CIS has no future". In a broadside against the Russian leaders who had hoped Mr Kuchma would be their man in Kiev, he added that, "at the moment we are playing with one set of geopolitics. Russia is standing at the penalty spot and scoring goals against everyone."

Paradoxically, Moscow's current obsession with consolidating its own statehood has provided a window of opportunity for former Russian vassals, such as Ukraine, who are keen on entrenching their own independence. This was most clearly demonstrated last month, when Ukraine used Russia's entanglement in Chechnya as political cover for its own efforts to clamp down on pro-Russian separatists in Ukraine's Crimean peninsula. In the past, Russian leaders have backed Crimean separatists, but last month, alive to the parallels between Ukraine's bloodless assertion of authority over Crimea and Russia's brutal war in Chechnya, senior Russian officials

within the CIS, Ukraine, seem by many Russians as a natural constituent of Greater Russia, is proving to be the state most strongly committed to its fledgling independence. Russian leaders had hoped that Mr Leonid Kuchma, who won the race for Ukraine's presidency last summer, would be more amenable to reintegration than his predecessor, Mr Leonid Kravchuk. But, instead,

Within the CIS, Ukraine, seen by many Russians as a natural constituent of Greater Russia, is proving to be the state most strongly committed to its fledgling independence. Russian leaders had hoped that Mr Leonid Kuchma, who won the race for Ukraine's presidency last summer, would be more amenable to reintegration than his predecessor, Mr Leonid Kravchuk. But, instead,

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**John Thornhill treks to Vladivostok, Russia's most easterly city**

## A settlement in Asia

Vladivostok's wonderful natural harbour, its hilly terrain and dazzling light have led many visitors to describe it as the San Francisco of Russia's far east.

The region's distance from the country's capital and its growing reputation for quirkiness – epitomised by the Hare Krishna vegetarian restaurant on Vladivostok's main street and the population's growing obsession with UFOs – are also beginning to lend the area the somewhat ramshackle feel of America's west coast. But local Russians tend to view their city in a far less rosy light. Vladivostok, they say with grim humour, only resembles San Francisco after the earthquake.

There is little doubt that the economic dislocation and social disintegration caused by the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 have badly shaken Russia's far east.

The military-industrial complex on which the regional economy was largely built, is in crisis. The region's fishing, timber and coal industries are also in upheaval. Industrial production fell 17 per cent in 1993 and is still sliding. The far east, which had a reputation as one of the more closed and conservative regions, has been struggling to find its place in the chaotic free market world.

The region's politics have also been unsettled. Mr Evgeny Nazdratenko, governor of the Primorsky Krai, which embraces many of the biggest cities of the far east, has been fiercely criticised by some of Russia's liberal democratic parties for his arbitrary and authoritarian rule. A criminal mafia, which quickly established itself after the collapse of the Soviet Union, has acquired considerable pull in the region.

In Moscow, politicians fear that the weakness of the central state may tempt the far east into separatism. But viewed from the far east, the region's adherence to Moscow is easier to understand.

With just 8m people living in an expanse of territory the size of western Europe it is little wonder the inhabitants feel agoraphobic. Surrounded by fast-growing Asian tiger economies, eagerly eyeing Siberia's natural resources, the inhabitants of Russia's far east are strong believers in a unitary state. Mr Nazdratenko freely plays the nationalist card periodically expelling Chinese immigrant workers and condemning a recent inter-governmental border agreement.

**John Lloyd** assesses the ethnic threats to rule from Moscow

## Regions strain at the leash

The war in Chechnya, continuing as this survey is written, is a dramatic pointer not just to the ruthlessness of the Russian authorities but to their inability, so far, to construct a federation of regions and republics within Russia on a coherent and stable basis.

The rationale for Chechnya – that it was a necessary brutality to keep the Federation together – could only hold if the Federation itself were rationally shaped. So far that work has not been seriously attempted.

Chechnya was the sole member of the Federation of 89 republics, regions and districts to secede formally and completely, claiming to have established a new subject under international law (which was recognised by no other state). However, the rest of the Federation is composed of regions which have either formally or in practice taken a very large degree of autonomy, but stopped short of declaring independence. It is in these relationships that Moscow's largest problem lies: how to re-configure them into a modern and well functioning state.

The Communist period, still blamed for most evils, was indeed responsible for at least the origins of this one. Lenin and Stalin prescribed for the Soviet Union, and for the largest part of it, the Russian Federation, a form of "federalism" which depended on the assignment of territory within defined borders to the titular nationality living on it – together with organs of government which matched those of the state itself.

Thus, within Russia, there were created around 20 (it varied over time) "national republics", in most of which the titular nationalities were outnumbered by the Russians but nevertheless enjoyed a special status, which usually meant occupying the more ceremonial leadership functions.

The Russian regions, or "oblasts" and "krais", were more like conventional states in a federal country such as the US or Germany; they had parliaments (supreme soviets)



On the waterfront: Vladivostok has the ramshackle feel of America's west coast

which, he claims, concedes too much to Russia's southern neighbour.

But what local Russians tend to view as their biggest political threat could also turn out to be their greatest economic opportunity. Many observers believe that Russia's far east cannot fail to flourish in the long run, nestled as it is between the dynamic economies of China, Korea and Japan.

Mr Sergei Frank, finance director of the Far East Shipping Company, the leading

**The 8m citizens in an area as big as western Europe feel agoraphobic**

transport company in the region, is optimistic about the potential for development. "The region is ideally located being very close to the most serious and fastest-growing economic development in the world," he says.

The region's many ports, including Nakhodka, Vostochny, and Vladivostok, will become the natural gateways through which Siberia's vast riches will pass into the world market. They may also be the windows through which exports from the Pacific Rim travel to western Europe.

CSC Corporation, the US transport group, is already investing in upgrading the Trans-Siberian railway route. The railway claims to be able to deliver goods from Japan to Finland within 25 days – considerably faster than the alter-

native sea route.

A series of oil projects on Sakhalin island, which would provide Japan with much-needed energy, could also transform the region's economy providing a vast injection of investment.

Mr Frank says economic gravity is already beginning to exercise its pull and argues that the regional economy may already be doing far better than any of the official statistics reveal. He points to the fact that the vast majority of the cars on Vladivostok's streets are imported Japanese models, that there are now three airlines regularly flying full flights between Vladivostok and Moscow, and that some of the most active banks in Russia are based in the region.

The far east certainly has ambitions of becoming a leading financial centre. The Vladivostok International Stock Exchange, which was founded in April 1992, is one of the most active in Russia and recently scored a notable coup by becoming the chief centre for trading the shares of Gazprom, the giant Russian gas group.

Mr Viktor Sakharov, the genial former biologist who helped found the exchange, says: "Our market acts like a vacuum cleaner sucking up all the most important shares in the far east, Siberia and the Urals. We are trying to become the second financial centre of Russia."

Like many other Russian stock exchanges, the VISEC is hampered by a lack of market infrastructure and only taps a

relatively small proportion of all trades with the majority still being bought and sold in over-the-counter markets. The market has also fallen from last year's highs as foreign portfolio investors have turned tail because of the uncertainties of Chechnya and the aftermath of Mexico.

But Mr Andrew Fox, managing director of Pacific Gemini, an international fund management group active in the region, says Russia's far east still boasts many attractive investment opportunities.

"Buying shares in some Russian companies is like betting in a casino. But here you have companies with real assets – such as fishing, shipping and port companies – which are run by people who know what they are doing and are close to dollar earnings. It makes things more comfortable here," he says.

Russia's far east may have utterly failed to exploit its natural advantages under the communist regime but it is only slowly waking up to its present possibilities.

Mr Hideki Asahi, the Japanese consul general in Vladivostok, says, "When the region first opened up three years ago Japanese businessmen rushed to come here and open offices. But they have been disappointed because they cannot produce a profit in the area and some companies are starting to retreat from this market."

As with the rest of Russia, the economic transformation of the far east is likely to prove a long and tortuous process.

and governments, with a panoply of rights and duties. Within these could be sub-regions, again with an apparatus of legislative and executive organs, which were subordinate to the regions but had a status of their own. It was cumbersome and expensive, but served to stimulate a democratic order.

This edifice was both sham and real. Sham, in that the most important organisations in them were branches of the Communist Party, in turn subordinate to the Central Committee in Moscow (which tightly circumscribed freedom of action). Real, in that borders and governing structures were created within which some kind of state formation (albeit stunted) was taking place, and

have been clever and flexible enough to make the transition to the new order – are power and wealth: both require the maximum of control of their own affairs.

In the regions, large natural resources help achieve de facto autonomy, as does distance.

The leadership of the Far Eastern Region (Primorsky Krai)

has essentially been able to treat the area as its personal fief, collaborating with the enterprise directors in a privatised exercise which has yielded vast wealth to the administrative class, and quashing dissent with the use of the local militia. The central authorities informed of the situation in the region by a powerful report drawn up by the

**It will be several more years before the centre-region relationship is properly regulated. There will be more struggles – preferably less bloody than Chechnya**

which provided the skeleton for efforts to form real states once the Soviet Union had collapsed and central authority in Moscow had proven to be weak.

As throughout the former Soviet Union, the race has gone to the strongest. Tatarstan and Bashkortostan neighbouring republics several hundred miles east of Moscow, are oil-rich areas which unusually contribute more to the federal budget than they demand from it and used the leverage of their wealth to proclaim constitutions and to secure treaties from Moscow which give them the right to conduct negotiations with third parties, withhold taxes for their own use and enjoy a range of economic controls (as price subsidies and different privatisation regimes) over which Moscow has effectively little say.

These provide models for the rest of the republics – especially those with substantial resources of their own, such as Yakutia or Komi. The ambitions of the new elites in these republics – often at least elements of the old elites who

main democratic parties, have so far refused to intervene.

The central power can even be challenged in its own seat of Government. Moscow city, always seen as one whose control had to be ensured (and thus awarded a seat in the Politburo in Soviet times) is now strong enough relative to the constrained nature of central authority to challenge it and survive. Under Mayor Yuri Luzhkov, Moscow has achieved exemption from the federal privatisation provisions, developed its own system of taxation and profited hugely from the massive concentration of foreign capital and businesses since the end of communism.

This state of affairs is deeply unstable for two main reasons. First, the differing laws, regulations and practices which have flowed from the sub-federal authorities have immensely complicated the spread of private businesses, contributing greatly to limiting their scope to Moscow or to the city of their origin. The "specialness" of each regional and local regime means that the companies which are strug-

gling to develop out of the ruins of the state enterprises are restricted to their own localities and in turn repel those from others. The result is a capitalism which cannot yet produce large and competent companies in its own country and which are thus hobbled in any bid to challenge multinationals.

Second, it permanently weakens the federal power and provides ammunition to all opposition parties seeking to replace the administration of President Boris Yeltsin. The building of the new Russian state is one of the fundamental tasks of the Russian presidency and government: if it demonstrably cannot gather taxes, ensure the execution of its laws and ensure the safety of its citizens because of the resistance of regional leaders, it is exceedingly vulnerable to the charge that it should be replaced by an administration which can.

This is the situation in which the Yeltsin administration finds itself. In its defence, it can point to a constitution which begins the regulation of federal-regional relationships: it can claim that the challenges posed to it in 1992 and 1993 by the threatened secession of Tatarstan have been defused by the conclusion of a treaty (copied by Bashkortostan). And it can show that, when the challenge to statehood was extreme, as in the case of Chechnya, it took tough action to ensure the state's integrity.

These are insufficient – even though it is hard to see what concrete steps any of the opposition parties might take to improve the situation. At the root of the problem is the dissolution of effective authority, the concentration by all levels of power on self-enrichment and the lack of effective public pressure to make authorities really accountable to electors.

The Russian revolution has some years longer to run before the centre-region relationship is properly regulated: there will be further struggles, preferably less bloody than Chechnya, before it is.

**H**istorians of the Russian military may look back on the war in Chechnya as an operational nightmare that needed to happen.

Nearly three years after the Russian Federation started assembling its own armed forces out of the Soviet wreckage, they are engaged in a hellish, histrionic war against separatist forces in the enclave of Chechnya.

The conflict has shaken the west's image of Russia, and revealed how large sections of the country's forces were undermanned, poorly trained and demoralised.

An exception to this picture

**■ Bruce Clark reports on the army and the war in Chechnya**

## The weakness is unmasked

made him a folk hero. When told late last year that a commander was coming from Moscow to inspect his garrison, he growled: "There's nothing here for him to steal."

Despite these brags from his old friend, Gen Grachev has, like his mentor President Yeltsin, shown a remarkable ability to survive. Several of his rebellious deputies at the ministry have been removed or pushed sideways: these include the formidable General Boris Grushov, who was recently reassigned to a post at the foreign ministry.

But the contrast between pockets of excellence and huge areas of disorganisation, so badly exposed by the Chechen war, has had an effect which few predicted: it has finally created a climate in which full-blooded military reform appears possible, perhaps inevitable.

The conflict's initial impact was to trigger a wave of anti-war protest among Moscow's dwindling band of liberals and the distraught mothers of missing conscripts.

But the longer-term consequence has been to build a consensus – among politicians and opinion-makers who hardly cared about military matters before – that the forces must be reorganised and strengthened, as far as the economy allows.

The army's travails in Grozny have also raised the stakes in the struggle between General Pavel Grachev, the defence minister, and his rivals, some of whom want to change Russia's political as well as military leadership.

The loudest critic of bungling in Chechnya is probably General Alexander Lebed, charismatic commander of the Russian garrison in Moldova. He worked closely with Gen Grachev, a fellow paratrooper, in Afghanistan; but old comradeship has not restrained Gen Lebed from lashing out over corruption and mismanagement.

Gen Lebed described the Russian force that moved in on Chechnya as "a shapeless and disorganized group of men which does not know where it is going". This is the sort of blunt language which has

which at the peak of Soviet glory stood at over 4m, is in dispute. President Yeltsin has said the ideal strength would be about 1.5m – one in 10 of the population – while Gen Grachev said recently that 1.7m was the optimum number.

Russian media reports suggest that the current size of the regular forces is about 1.9m. Most Western experts believe this figure to be an exaggeration, although a German study last year suggested the real number was higher.

At least 30,000 troops, including regular soldiers, interior ministry peace-keepers

and troops of the FSK counter-intelligence service, have been involved in suppressing the Chechen rebellion.

Russia acknowledges the loss of nearly 1,400 of its own men and claims to have killed more than 7,000 Chechen fighters.

Western estimates put the number of civilian deaths at many thousands; much of Grozny, a once-bustling town of 400,000 people, has been reduced to wasteland.

The brutalities of the campaign's opening phase brought home to the world how little progress has been made in reforming Russia's forces since the withdrawal from eastern Europe and the collapse of the old war economy.

Since 1992, when Russian commanders absorbed the shock of "losing" thousands of aircraft, tanks and artillery pieces to the newly independent republics of Ukraine and Belarus, the purpose of military reform has been clear.

In theory, the army was supposed to be remade into a

leaner, meaner fighting machine out of which mobile units could be assembled and despatched at short notice to places where the interests of Russia – or Russian communities – were under threat.

In practice, the assault on Grozny showed up an inter-lack of coordination between the various forces which make up the Russian military. While the world was horrified by the toll among civilians, commanders had another complaint: abysmal communication between the air force, army and interior ministry was causing "friendly-fire" casualties and playing into their adversary's hands.

The worst miscalculation was a New Year assault on the centre of Grozny when an armoured column narrowly escaped total destruction. Only in mid-January, as thousands of paratroopers and naval infantry arrived in the war zone, did the level of competence improve.

Now, for the first time in many years, there is a widespread sense that the nation cannot afford hanging, embezzlement and squabbles among senior commanders.

The Soviet withdrawal from eastern Europe was arguably made possible in human and political terms, by turning a blind eye to wildcat commercial activity, from half-starved privates selling their badges to multi-million dollar deals over airfields and property in Berlin.

But now there is a palpable feeling that corruption has gone far enough. A wave of outrage was triggered last autumn by the booby-trap killing of Dmitry Khodolov, a young journalist investigating malpractices in the military.

A strange coalition of right and left has come together to demand that the top brass serve themselves less and the nation better. Sverdlovka, a progressive Moscow daily, recently published a long, sympathetic interview with General Vladislav Achakov, former commander of airborne forces, now head of a hard-line officers' lobby, on the misdeeds of Chechnya.

He disclosed that the paratroopers, the cream of Russia's forces, had lost 992 men during nine years of war in Afghanistan – and 186, including 28 officers, in the first 40 days of fighting in Chechnya. The full political effects of these extraordinary figures have still to be felt.

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**T**he people are tired - this is the answer you will get if you ask how Russians are feeling about reform, politics, democracy, crime and corruption - everything beyond their own homes. The nation has gone from a state of amazement at how brave it can be - attacking communism, breaking with orthodoxy, fighting for freedom - to realisation that the new reality is about day-to-day survival. Russians can still get angry, maybe violent, but not over a conflict of ideologies. Today's protests are against low living standards and corruption.

Welcome to the home of a new Russia, not a shady businessman, but an industrial worker who has been laid off and is buying a new car with the money he raised selling potatoes grown on his small private plot of land. Of course he is tired. This has been, and will continue to be, a traumatic transition.

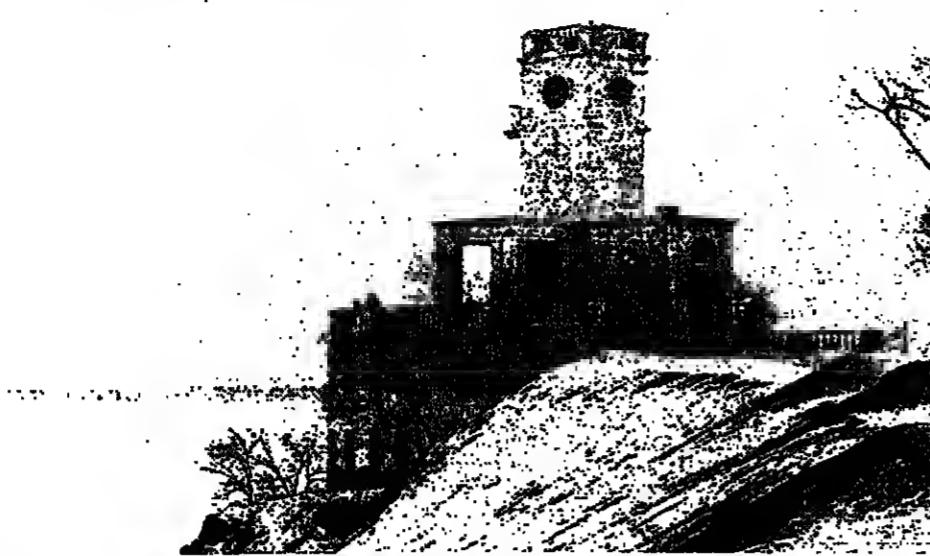
In Russia, and in many of the other former Soviet republics, the answer to this new social climate is dictatorship. Democratically minded politicians feel indignant about it, but there are no strong protests against the trend. The Kremlin has been disillusioned by Russia's new generation of democratic politicians. Sometimes called the August draftees, they are the young leaders with a strong commitment to democracy and human rights who during the failed hardline coup of August 1991 massed around the White House on the Moskva river embankment to protect what they saw as nascent democracy and freedom embodied by Mr Yeltsin.

But the August draftees lost their political chance in the December, 1993 parliamentary elections. Despite Mr Yeltsin's wholehearted support for their political battle against the communists and nationalists, the democrats failed to persuade the voters.

For the president's team this meant a very simple thing - to remain in power the president's men had to abandon these weak, unpersuasive and undisciplined allies. In the summer of 1994, it was already becoming clear that Mr Yeltsin was looking for firmer ground to stand on than traditional western-style liberalism. Nationalists, after all, had won widespread support at the polls. Perhaps even more important in the Kremlin's considerations was the fact that nationalism coupled with

■ Dmitry Volkov, a Moscow columnist, sums up the people's mood

## Weariness in a cold dawn



On the Amur river in Siberia: a new day, but the dawn is somewhat chilly

Financial Times picture

statism makes it possible to disregard popular discontent.

Placing a priority on law and order gives the government an opportunity to ignore dissenting opinions and to crack down on political minorities. Nationalism and statism are finding powerful constituencies in the Russian elite. The army, the managers of crumbling industries and the security services have a longstanding grievance with the Kremlin for allegedly selling the patrimony to the West, destroying its defence and industrial potential and so forth. Most of these élites have indicated that they would not insist on the removal of Russia's present leaders, if the Kremlin were to change its attitudes. So it did.

Furthermore, a new dictatorship may be viewed as a far more efficient way to lead the country: out of its current crisis, restructure its economy and clamp down on violent crime. A number of experts with liberal ideas about economy have argued for a move from chaotic unruly democracy to a strong state ruled unwaveringly by a sober and educated leader. Even sobriety is not essential if the leader agrees to be controlled by these experts. They promise to remain sober enough to advise him wisely.

Russia's most recent political developments - the military

crackdown in Chechnya, the promise to fight political extremism with police power, recurring threats against the mafia and corruption - may signal that all the elements necessary to establish an educated dictatorship are in place.

Of course, this nascent regime needs formal recognition, and there are two ways to achieve it. One is to hold controlled elections which would bring in a submissive parliament and legitimise a president designated by the present Kremlin clique - be it Mr Yeltsin or somebody else. Another is to find a legitimate excuse to cancel elections. Mr Yeltsin may stay or he may go, but if he is to have a successor, it will only be one appointed by the ruling oligarchy.

There is a long list of top-ranking officials, ranging from Mr Vladimir Shumeiko, chairman of the upper chamber of parliament, to the secretive officers of the Security Council, effectively, the politburo of the new Russia, to officials in the president's administration, who publicly and privately speak in favour of cancelling elections. The people are tired, they tell the people. We are tired of being accountable to the people, they say off the record.

Even more importantly, powerful Muscovite bankers have joined the chorus. The views of

the banking community may be even more revealing than statements by politicians and parties. The big players there represent the real rulers of the country, some with a criminal background, others sprouting from so-called specialised state banks and servicing key industries. All are corrupt in a sense important for their business as the ability to manage money.

A free-for-all competition between these groups - formed sometimes on a regional basis, but also within branches of industry or, unfortunately, through the influence of gangsters - has worried the country's leadership. The so-called Moscow group operating in close alliance with the capital's powerful mayor, Mr Yury Luzhkov, was seen as a potential threat both by its rivals and by the Kremlin. As a consequence, it was singled out for attack by Mr Yeltsin's head of security, Gen Alexander Korzhakov, not in the least to serve as an example of how uncomfortable any single financial group in Russia will be made to feel if it doesn't make a deal with the presidential entourage.

Geo Korzhakov, as well as other figures personally dependent on Mr Yeltsin, seem to have become very concerned

about the political succession. The president's men realise they have no political future if Mr Yeltsin leaves his post and the next man in line does not want their services. Therefore, worried as they are about their boss's fate, Mr Yeltsin's intimate friends and admirers are equally concerned about controlling the queue to the presidential seat.

In this regard, the attack on Mr Luzhkov and his banking allies has been a success. There are clear signs that consultations between the biggest banks and the regime are well underway. The chosen financial groups are promising to use their resources to help the regime avoid elections or, if this fails, to fund the Kremlin's chosen candidates. The government, in return, has indicated that it is prepared to give the financiers exclusive rights to manage the economy and eliminate competition.

The offspring of this union between Russia's political masters and its financiers may not be a liberal society with a free market and a meaningful democracy. On the other hand, it is not likely to revert to rigid Soviet totalitarianism. The economy, observers claim, shows signs of invigoration. There will be no need to threaten people with labour camps if they can be lured into squelching with a little hit of bread, butter and no shoot-outs in their backyards. In fact, the people would probably like this for a change.

Of course, the state is likely to remain corrupt, and grow even more so. But Russia is a country built on intimate personal connections rather than independent relationships governed by law. A Russian version of democracy would not eliminate corruption but instead increase the number of closely-knit clans, violently competing for scarce resources. If only one clan remains - it may at least restrain its delinquent adolescent members and rule the weaker gangs with an iron fist. It's a new day, although the dawn is rather bleak and chilly.

□ Mr Volkov is political editor of *Sevostanya*, a Moscow daily

■ Profile: OLEG BOYKO

## Captain of high finance and business, aged 30

Enthroned in a black leather chair, behind a vast chrome and glass desk, Mr Oleg Boyko, chairman of the board of one of Russia's "big eight" banks, epitomises Russia's new breed of financiers.

The broad windows of his 12th floor office command a view of the Kremlin, the centre of political power in the new Russia, as it was in the old. On the ground floor, one of the flagships of Russia's nascent private economy, a McDonald's restaurant, dashes out Big Macs to queues of eager Muscovites.

This dual proximity to the heart of political authority and the more diffuse but growing power of Russia's sea of

grown out of a computer importing company he established in 1988 when he was one of the handful of pioneering businessmen who took advantage of the tentative overtures that Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's Soviet Union made to private entrepreneurs.

Since then, Oleg has blossomed with a speed which owes as much to Mr Boyko's astute political judgment as it does to his business acumen.

"There is nothing strange about the fact that in Russia big business is close to the government," Mr Boyko says.

This dual proximity to the heart of political authority and the more diffuse but growing power of Russia's sea of

financiers exclusive rights to manage the economy and eliminate competition.

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brutal and unfinished campaign to subdue Chechen separatists provoked a rift between Russia's Choice, which has been strongly critical of the war, and Mr Yeltsin. Sensitive to these new political winds, Mr Boyko has adeptly shifted his allegiances. He resigned from the executive of Russia's Choice, where he was formally second-in-command of the party, and has become one of the chief financial backers of Stabilnost, a newly formed parliamentary block known for its unwavering loyalty to the president.

When the Chechen crisis happened, many leaders of Russia's Choice became hysterical," Mr Boyko says, by

A pragmatic politician, he has emerged as President Yeltsin's most loyal barker.

way of explanation. "They were talking about impeachment of the president and dismissal of the government. But I don't think you would get anything better. This was the main reason why I disagreed with some people in the party."

Since then, Mr Boyko has gone even further. In what many observers think may be a trial balloon floated at the request of the presidential team, Mr Boyko has called for a postponement of parliamentary and presidential elections.

Mr Boyko's decision to position himself as the president's most loyal barker has drawn fierce criticism from some quarters. "Mr Boyko thinks that he has privatised the president himself and can now use him as his own 'informal' bodyguard," Mr Mikhail Leontiev, a prominent Moscow communist, wrote last week.

As long as he manages to stay in the president's good books, and Oleg reaps the rewards of that political favour, Mr Boyko is unlikely to be too troubled by such accusations.

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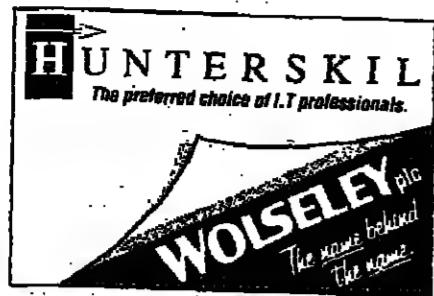
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The Moscow Times  
International Weekly Edition

February 26, 1995

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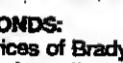
## MARKETS THIS WEEK



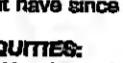
**GERARD BAKER**  
**GLOBAL INVESTOR**  
The pile of problem loans for Japanese banks seems to have peaked in the last year, but it still remains disturbingly high. Yet the banks have continued to report profits, by realising gains on equities they bought when the market was much lower. Page 21



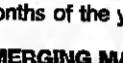
**ROBERT CHOTE**  
**ECONOMICS NOTEBOOK**  
The UK government has been unrepentant in its attempts to grease the wheels of the labour market over the last 15 years. Most of the relevant initiatives can be interpreted as attempts to cut the cost of hiring and firing. Page 21



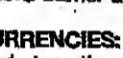
**BONDS:**  
Prices of Brady bonds have risen sharply in the past month, prompting hopes that the worst may be over in the \$135bn market. The bonds issued by emerging market governments in exchange for distressed debt sank to all-time lows in early March but have since risen by some 18 per cent. Page 22



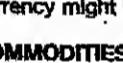
**EQUITIES:**  
In New York this week there will be some hard numbers to put behind all the stock market wagers on a soft landing as companies begin to report earnings. In London, oil shares have been leading the charge and the FT-SE 100 Share list showed a total return of 3.8 per cent over the first three months of the year. Page 24



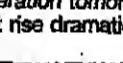
**EMERGING MARKETS:**  
Turkey is very much the flavour of the month in dealing rooms around the globe. The Istanbul stock exchange soared last month, bursting through one record barrier after another. Page 23



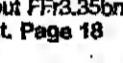
**CURRENCIES:**  
Market sentiment towards the dollar remains very pessimistic. Increasingly, though, investors and traders are beginning to wonder whether the US currency might be nearing a bottom. Page 23



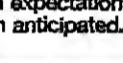
**COMMODITIES:**  
The new coffee export retention scheme agreed by producing countries last month is due to come into operation tomorrow – provided market levels do not rise dramatically. Page 21



**INTERNATIONAL COMPANIES:**  
Générale des Eaux, the French water, construction and communications group, achieved net profits of about FF13.35bn (\$670m) last year, a rise of 4.5 per cent. Page 18



**UK COMPANIES:**  
The Easter bunny has come early for UK equity investors. Companies reporting profits figures for 1994 have generally announced earnings in line with expectations, while dividends have been better than anticipated. Page 20



**STATISTICS:**  
Base lending rates ..... 31 London recent issues ..... 31 Company meetings ..... 29 London share service ..... 34-35 Dividend payments ..... 29 Managed fund service ..... 32-33 FT-A World indices ..... 21 Money markets ..... 21 New int bond issues ..... 22 New York prices ..... 36-37 World stock mkt indices ..... 30

## This week: Company news

### US COMPANIES

#### First quarter to show growth hitting a slowdown

What effect have higher interest rates had on the profits of US companies – and has a lower dollar offset some of the damage? The answers will become clearer from this week, when the first quarter corporate reporting season gets underway.

Most analysts expect a marked slowing of profits growth as the year progresses, after a strong end to 1994. The effects will start to show through this quarter in companies which are dependent on domestic consumer markets, says Mr Jeffrey Applegate at CS First Trust; companies such as motor manufacturers and retailers will suffer from weakening consumer demand in the US without benefiting from the stronger growth in foreign markets or the weak dollar.

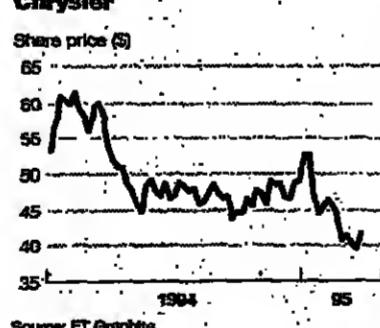
Chrysler, the first motor manufacturer to report, has already warned that earnings for the first quarter will be below the level of a year ago, when the company made \$2.30 a share. Mr Robert Eaton, chairman, added that Chrysler was likely to continue offering hefty incentives to attract buyers in the coming months, something that would hurt earnings in the second quarter as well.

The stock market has already knocked 30 per cent off Chrysler's shares this year.

J.P. Morgan is on Thursday likely to signal a weak first quarter for banks that depend heavily on the financial markets. While the volatile currency markets have been generally good for bank earnings, the turmoil in the emerging markets following Mexico's devaluation have hit profits.

Morgan is generally expected to have done better than in the final three months of last year, when earnings per share were a disappointing 96 cents. But at around \$1.10 a share, earnings in the latest period will still be considerably below the \$1.60 of a year before.

### Chrysler



#### Reorganisation may trim expectations

Forie, the UK's leading hotels group, announces its full-year results on Wednesday. Pre-tax profits are expected to be between £190m and £190m after last year's £121m, but the figure will be influenced by a number of factors, including a possible restructuring charge of about £7m following the acquisition of Meridian, the French hotel chain last November. FRS5, the accounting standard dealing with off-balance sheet financing, could result in a £10m charge.

Forie has been going through management restructuring and company reorganisation following its expansion into Europe. The main issue is the performance of its provincial hotels and whether it will have to deprecate its freehold buildings following a review being undertaken by the Accounting Standards Board. The dividend of 7.5p is expected to remain unchanged.

Meanwhile the Savoy Hotel group, which includes London's Connaught, the Berkeley, Claridge's as well as the Savoy itself and the Lancaster in Paris, reports its full-year results tomorrow. Forie owns 65 per cent of Savoy's shares and 42 per cent of its votes. Profits at the Savoy group are expected to rise from £725,000 to about £4m on the back of increased demand for London hotels. After halving the dividend last year, it is expected to remain unchanged.

### OTHER COMPANIES

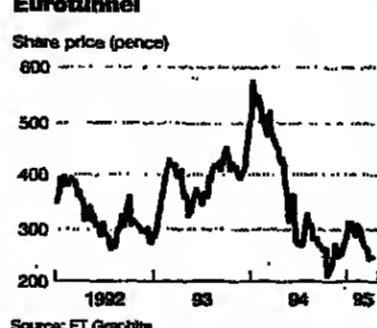
#### Still looking for light at end of Eurotunnel

True to form, Eurotunnel has kept its investors and its bankers on the edge of their seats, renegotiating the terms under which it will draw down the £630m (£1.1bn) loan agreed last May and staging a shake-up of its marketing department. When it announces its 1994 results today, analysts will be looking for some good news on passenger numbers and revenues in the first quarter of 1995. Delays in launching services last year will have a knock-on effect and it is only expected to achieve 1995 revenues of £400m/£120m less than forecast. Pressure for a refinancing is expected to grow, but there appears little point until Eurotunnel has had the chance to show its paces during the spring and summer season.

■ Schneider: The French electrical engineering group is expected to announce a sharp increase in profits when it reveals results for 1994 today. Analysts are forecasting net profits of about FF700m (£141.7m), compared with FF405m last time. Schneider is undergoing a fundamental restructuring of its loss-making construction and property arm, but is benefiting from productivity improvements and stronger markets.

■ Tesco: The UK's second-largest food retailer is expected tomorrow to announce a bumper-back in profits from £436m to around £556m (£952m) for the year to February, before rationalisation

### Eurotunnel



costs of about £35m associated with last year's purchase of Wm Low, the Scottish supermarket chain. Underlying operating profits should show a strong increase, from £543.8m to about £550m.

■ Daimler-Benz: Mr Edzard Reuter will preside over his last balance sheet press conference on Wednesday before he retires in May. He can be relied on to trumpet the group's decisive return to the black, reported last week – and a DM3 increase to DM11 in the 1994 dividend. These are the first fruits of the restructuring which may come to be remembered as Mr Reuter's most important contribution.

■ RMC: The world's biggest concrete producer goes from strength to strength. Its philosophy of concentrating on what it does best in as many markets as possible gives it an enviable geographical spread. 1994 pre-tax profits are expected to be £275m (£440m) compared with £177.8m.

### Companies in this issue

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## FINANCIAL TIMES

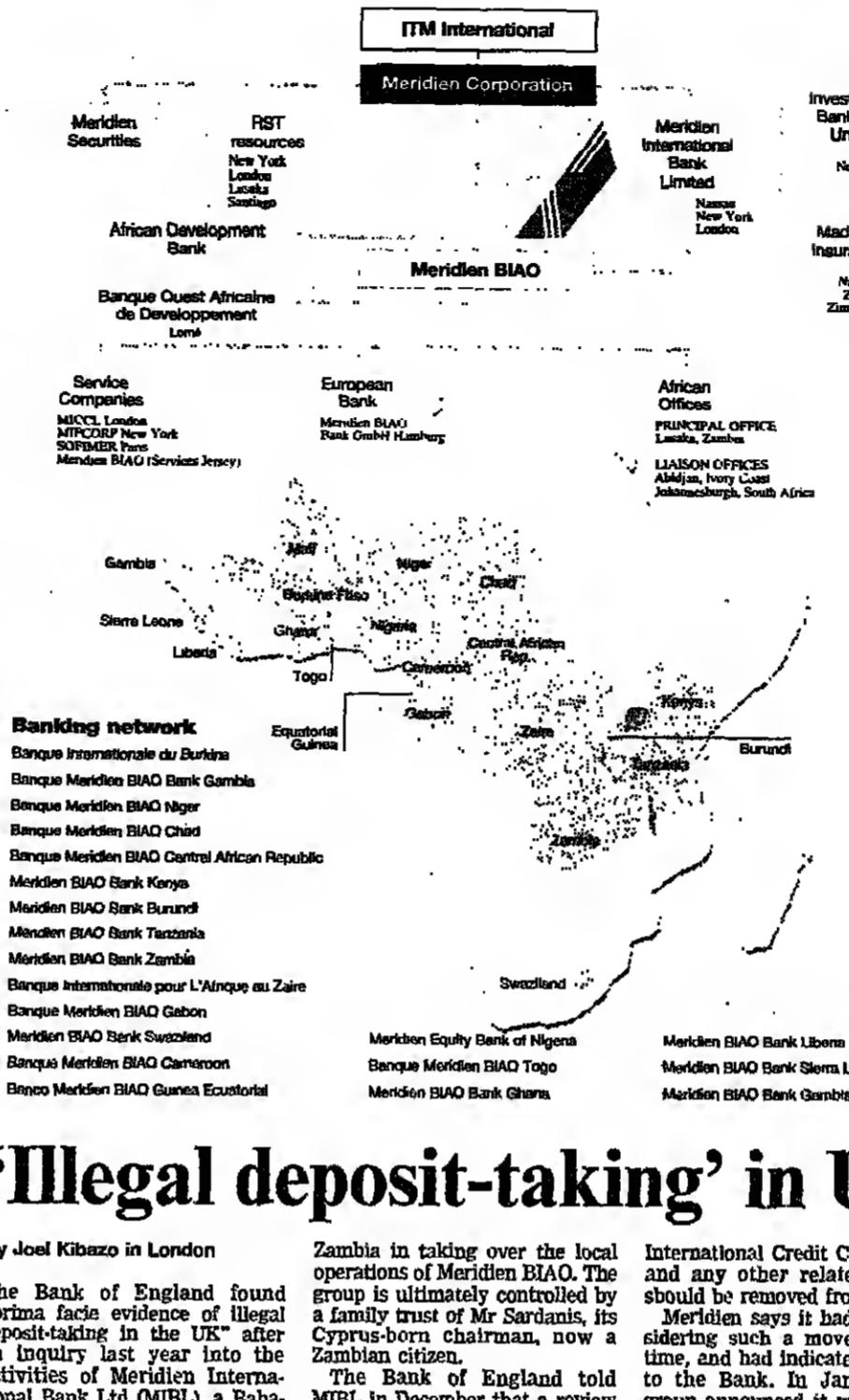
# COMPANIES & MARKETS

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Monday April 10 1995



### Meridien's African quilt begins to fray



## 'Illegal deposit-taking' in UK

By Joel Kibazo in London

The Bank of England found " prima facie evidence of illegal deposit-taking in the UK" after an inquiry last year into the activities of Meridien International Bank Ltd (MIBL), a Bahamian bank with a representative office in London.

But Mr Andrew Sardanis, founder and chairman of Meridiens, said: "We categorically deny that we were ever involved in any form of banking business in the UK. Our presence in the UK was to service our network in the form of letters of credit and liaison with our customers."

MIBL owns 74 per cent of Meridien BIAO, a troubled Luxembourg-registered banking group which operates in 20 African countries. Last week, Tanzania followed Swaziland, Kenya and

Zambia in taking over the local operations of Meridien BIAO. The group is ultimately controlled by a family trust of Mr Sardanis, its Cyprus-born chairman, now a Zambian citizen.

The Bank of England told MIBL in December that a review of the account-opening files and correspondence files of a small number of customers uncovered the evidence of illegal deposit-taking. Bahamian banking secrecy legislation had made it impossible to provide access to all customer records, but the Bank of England told MIBL: "We would be surprised if this did not corroborate the evidence already available to date."

The Bank said it "recognised that the breaches had not been deliberate" but cited a "structural" problem and suggested

international Credit Corporation, and any other related entities should be removed from the UK.

Meridien says it had been considering such a move for some time, and had indicated as much to the Bank. In January, the group announced it was moving its administrative offices from London to Lusaka. Mr Sardanis said: "The decision to move the administrative offices of Meridien BIAO had nothing to do with the Bank of England. It was our decision."

The Bank of England, which had no supervisory responsibility for MIBL or other members of the group because they were not licensed to take deposits, would not comment on an individual case.

Mr Colin Goodwin has resigned as president of Meridien BIAO because of the move to Zambia. High noon for Meridien, Page 19

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Page 19

## Chase feels the heat to unlock hidden virtues

The heat has been turned up under the directors of Chase Manhattan, the US's sixth biggest banking group and one of the pre-eminent names in international banking.

The source of their agitation can be traced to suburban New Jersey, where a 43-year-old named Mr Michael Price runs investment funds worth a seemingly modest \$80m or so. Mr Price has decided that the time has come for Mr Thomas Labrecque, Chase's chairman, to unlock some of the hidden value in the company for the benefit of shareholders. A rough translation: if Mr Labrecque can't find a way to lift Chase's share price, he should auction off its best businesses or put the entire bank on the block.

Mr Price's firm, Heine Securities, which has just become Chase's biggest shareholder, has long specialised in buying shares in companies valued at less than their intrinsic asset value. More recently, he has used his holdings to put pressure on companies to turn that hidden value into hard cash.

Mr Price's biggest success so far came at Michigan National, an underperforming regional bank in which Heine had a stake of more than 8 per cent. After two years of shareholder agitation, the bank agreed a sale to National Australia Bank in early February (the deal has yet to be completed), reportedly doubling Heine's original \$50m investment. Mr Price began to build his stake in Chase one week later.

His latest target was well chosen. Before Heine started buying Chase shares traded at only about 85 per cent of book value. The average for other money centre banks was about 120 per cent, while big regional banks traded at 150 times book. Memories persist of the 1980s, when Chase was hit by lending to developing countries (at a cost of about \$2bn) and commercial property (cost: \$2bn).

Chase, however, is not Michigan National. It earned \$1.2bn after tax last year, equivalent to a return on equity of 15.8 per cent – certainly not a spectacular result, given the strong conditions for bank earnings generally, but still a solid payoff for

Mr Labrecque's strategy.

There has been a time lag in having the value of the franchises recognised in the price", says Mr Arjun Mathrani, Chase's chief financial officer. The bank this year began to publish the revenues of its separate units.

Mr Price's challenge may not be answered so easily. A 6 per cent stake may not be enough to exert direct influence, but his voice as the bank's biggest single shareholder will count for something. The most obvious responses would be to lift the dividend, buy back shares or start a new cost-cutting drive – or all three. Mr Mathrani says Chase remains at the low end of its targeted range of paying out 25-35 per cent of earnings in dividends.

## COMPANIES AND FINANCE

# Générale des Eaux ahead despite property arm loss

By John Riddings in Paris

Générale des Eaux, the French water, construction and communications group, achieved net profits of about FFr2.35bn (569m) last year, a rise of 4.5 per cent on 1993, in spite of record losses at its property subsidiary.

The result, which is due to be confirmed next month, includes substantial provisions against losses of FFr2.23bn at Compagnie Immobilière Phoenix, the group's property arm. In 1993, losses at CIP amounted to FFr1.58bn.

These losses and provisions were offset by capital gains

arising from several operations, including the sale of stakes in Cofira, the company's mobile telephone operation, to industry partners such as Southwestern Bell of the US and Vodafone.

Sales at the group rose by 5.8 per cent to FFr156.2bn, with about 30 per cent of the total coming from markets outside France. Générale des Eaux said the rise in results would enable it to increase the dividend from FFr1.11 to FFr1.25.

The company also outlined details of the restructuring of CIP, one of several casualties of the recession in the French property market. Under the

restructuring, a share exchange will offer one Générale des Eaux share for every eight CIP shares and for every three CIP convertible bonds. The maximum dilution for the group shares is 1.38 per cent, according to the statement.

The large provisions for CIP and the restructuring package reflect the strategy being pursued by Mr Jean-Marie Messier, appointed last year as managing director and heir apparent to Mr Guy Dejouany, the group chairman. Mr Messier has adopted an aggressive approach at CIP, seeking a final resolution of its losses and overvalued assets.

Analysts believe that the Pta200bn (\$1.4bn) offer of 19 per cent of state-owned equity in the oil, chemical and gas conglomerate could also reflect foreign interests in the Spanish market. The offer, the largest in Europe so far this year, has been strongly oversubscribed in both its domestic and international tranches.

A key feature of the placement, globally co-ordinated by Goldman Sachs of the US and the domestic retail bank Banco Bilbao Vizcaya, has been the rush for shares by small Spanish investors. When the retail offer of 32m shares closed on Friday, demand stood at more than 70m shares.

The excitement generated by the Repsol paper reflects the prospects of good earnings by the energy group, as well as the clever, innovative incentives that have underpinned the placement. But it could also indicate that domestic investors are beginning to shrug off a wariness over the equity market that has brought the Bolsa's index to some 25 per cent below its historic peak of early 1993.

Repsol is viewed as the best possible stock to kick-start the

## Derivatives trading hits Unicem

By Andrew Hill in Milan

Extraordinary losses on derivatives trading helped drive Unicem, the Italian cement company, into a group loss of 1.68bn (558m) last year.

Unicem, which is controlled by the Agnelli family's Ifi holding company, had to set aside 1.78bn to cover losses on unauthorised trading of derivatives and other financial instruments, since curtailed.

The company, which made a net profit of 1.25bn in 1993, managed to increase operating profits to 1.32bn, more than double the 1.15bn reported for 1993, even though cement consumption in Italy dropped 8 per cent in 1994.

Extraordinary losses wiped out the benefits of this performance. Apart from the 1.78bn trading loss, Unicem also set aside 1.12bn to cover European Commission fines levied for alleged membership of a European cement cartel. The company is appealing against the fines. An 11 per cent cut in its workforce cost a further 1.9bn in extraordinary charges.

Some 40 per cent of Unicem belongs to Ifi, and just over 10 per cent to Ifil, the holding company for the Agnelli's industrial interests apart from Fiat. However, under a complex operation announced last May, Ifil will eventually gain control of the whole majority stake in Unicem.

Unicem has done this elsewhere in their accounts, but realising these equity gains has the effect of weakening a bank's capital base, since unrealised gains are counted as part of a bank's capital.

Hyogo said the Kobe earthquake in January had inflicted serious damage on its head office and branches.

Hyogo posted a recurring profit of Y1.5bn and a post-tax profit of Y1bn. At the end of September last year it had total assets of Y3.700bn.

The main reason for the loss, it said, was the sharp decline in share prices in the past six months, which reduced the value of the bank's large holdings of equities.

Under Japanese banking rules, if the market price of shares held by a company falls below its book value at the end of an accounting period, it is required to declare the loss. Many banks are expected to

bear experienced such losses in the past financial year.

The bank did not attempt to offset the losses by selling other equities on which it carries substantial large gains.

Banks have done this elsewhere in their accounts, but realising these equity gains has the effect of weakening a bank's capital base, since unrealised gains are counted as part of a bank's capital.

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## COMPANIES AND FINANCE

# High noon for Meridien

Joel Kibazo examines an African banking group's growing troubles

**M**r Andrew Sardanis, chairman of Meridien BIAO, the troubled banking group operating in 20 African countries, is not a man easily unsettled by unfolding events. Speaking in London last week, the Cypriot-born Zambian citizen said: "I do not believe it is the end of the road for us. We need to restructure, but we will come out all right."

Mr Sardanis' will have to draw heavily on his 45 years of experience in the rough and tumble world of African business if his group is to emerge from its current crisis.

Tanzania's central bank last week joined a growing list of authorities to have taken over the group's local operations. The Bank of Tanzania cited large foreign exchange exposure positions - estimated at about \$30m - for its move, together with a "poor lending policy which lacked proper scrutiny and rapid expansion".

In February, Swaziland took over the running of the local Meridien BIAO, pending a sale. First National Bank of South Africa has confirmed that it is in talks about acquiring the Meridien operations in Swaziland. Kenya's central bank took over Meridien BIAO operations in Nairobi in March, also citing foreign exchange exposure positions.

But the biggest blow came two weeks ago when authorities in Zambia, where the group is headquartered, took over Meridien BIAO Bank Zambia, split it from the rest of the Meridien BIAO group and appointed Mr John Cruckshank, a former senior partner at KPMG Peat Marwick in Zambia, as interim chairman.

Only two weeks before, the Bank of Zambia had poured more than 40bn kwacha (\$50m) into the bank to bail it out of a serious liquidity crisis after rumours of its closure had started a run on the bank.

The group is the result of a 1991 merger between the Meridien Group's banks started by Mr Sardanis in 1983 and a network of 11 banks he bought from the French liquidator of

"I believe our problem has always been a shortage of capital," says chairman Andrew Sardanis, but attempts to find suitable partners have failed so far

The group reported a net profit of \$3.9m in 1993, the last year for which audited figures are available, but after currency translations its reserves declined by \$15.2m in that year. MBL is owned by Meridien Corporation, which is in turn owned by ITM International, a Luxembourg-registered private company controlled by the Sardanis family trust.

A lack of liquidity has dogged the group from its early days. Mr Sardanis said last week: "I believe our problem has always been a shortage of capital."

The liquidity problem appears to have been compounded by the 1991 merger and well informed sources have indicated funds were taken from the more profitable banks in English-speaking Africa to shore up less profitable operations in Franco-phone countries.

Meridien itself would only say: "We found the BIAO network in a worse state than we had anticipated and the situation deteriorated due to the overvalued CFA franc. The [1994] CFA franc devaluation only made things worse." It also cited high integration costs of merging the two groups as another source of its woes in that region.

## Rugby Estates ahead at £2.4m

In its first set of full-year results since it floated out of Hillsdown Holdings last April, Rugby Estates property group lifted pre-tax profits from £2.01m to £2.41m for 1994.

However, stripping out a £700,000 exceptional credit from the total for 1993, the underlying pre-tax increase was 86 per cent. Net assets per share, including unrealised post-tax profit in trading stock, emerged at 130p at December 31 against 127p at the flotation.

During the year the group made acquisitions of £16m and sales of £7.5m, with £12m and £7m respectively of those totals after coming to market.

As anticipated, a final dividend of 1.38p makes a total for the year of 2.07p.

## Fitzwilson sells freezer business

Fitzwilson, the Irish industrial holding group, is selling its 75 per cent-owned Novum subsidiary for £52.9m. The Dublin-based freezer business is being acquired by a company formed by NatWest Ventures and the existing management team.

The proceeds will be used to pay off borrowings and develop other businesses. Fitzwilson said it would now concentrate on the Irish food retailing sector through its 97 per cent stake in the Wellworth retail chain, Remmicks, its sign manufacturer, and its investment in Waterford Wedgwood.

The group is currently resisting a possible takeover attempt by Dunnes Stores, the Irish retail group, which has recently acquired a 9.1 per cent stake.

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NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that pursuant to the provisions of Section 12.03 of the Pooling and Servicing Agreement dated as of April 13, 1990 among Sears Receivables Financing Group, Inc., as Seller ("the Seller"); Sears, Roebuck and Co., as Servicer ("the Servicer"); and The First National Bank of Chicago, Chicago, as Trustee ("the Trustee"), establishing Sears Roebuck Euro Accounts Receivable Select Trust 1990-1, Investor Certificateholders are hereby notified that the final distribution on all outstanding Certificates will be made on April 15, 1995 (the "Scheduled Maturity Date"). The Certificates are due on the Scheduled Maturity Date when interest will cease to accrue. Principal will be paid at 100% of par. The accrued interest will be paid at a rate of \$97.50 per \$1,000.00. Principal plus accrued interest to but excluding April 15, 1995 will be paid on April 15, 1995 (or the next succeeding business day) upon presentation. The Record Date otherwise related to the Scheduled Maturity Date is not applicable. Payment will be made only upon presentation and surrender of the Certificates.

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**FIRST CHICAGO**  
The First National Bank of Chicago

10th April, 1995

Attention has also been called to financial transactions between Meridien and ITM, the private company controlled by Mr Sardanis which is involved in mining, trading and construction. Mr Sardanis said: "ITM has borrowed money from the bank but it has been on normal commercial terms. I don't think that borrowing is excessive and I refute allegations that money borrowed by ITM has not been paid back on time or that ITM is not meeting its obligations.

He blames most of the group's troubles on a wider conspiracy. "I think there is a conspiracy by the British establishment, and British banks that are our competitors. The fact is they do not consider any institution out of Africa is capable, professional and long lasting and due to their power it becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. I think that is what is happening here."

A board meeting to look at the group's future is to be held at the end of this month, but Mr Sardanis remains confident about the future. Pledging to repay the Bank of England has been keeping a close watch on Meridien's London operations and it is perhaps one reason why several merchant banks in

the City of London have shied away when approached by Meridien to help it find suitable partners for a cash injection. Talks in February with Internationale Nederlanden Group about a cash injection came to nothing.

Yet Meridien has paid little heed to critics of its complicated ownership structure. Mr Sardanis said: "We knew regulation was important but we concluded it was an unattainable goal. We are a Third World operation and regulators don't understand us."

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Watmoughs chairman receives 46% rise

By Peter Pearce

Mr Patrick Walker, chairman of Watmoughs, the Bradford-based printer, received a 46 per cent increase in his pay package in 1994, up from £286,000 to £419,000. Pre-tax profits rose 30 per cent to £20.1m.

Stripping out pension contributions of £49,000 (£43,000), his pay grew 52 per cent, boosted by a rise in his management remuneration and benefits to £208,000 (£169,000) and a performance-related bonus more than doubled to £162,000 (£74,000).

Mr Walker's bonus is based on 2 per cent of the group's annual profits, adjusted for additional share capital issues.

The total remuneration for all the directors increased 20 per cent to £1.29m (£1.06m).

• Mr Peter Redfern, chief executive of Partco, the distributor of automotive parts and equipment which came to the market in March 1994, saw his total remuneration rise by 43 per cent to £164,000 (£115,000). Within that, his salary rose to £121,000 (£100,000) and he received the maximum performance-related bonus of £25,000 (nil).

# Gus Carter is betting on raising £3.5m in flotation

By Peter Pearce

Gus Carter, which runs 72 betting offices in the north-east of England, is coming to market on May 2 via a placing to raise £3.5m before expenses. The company will value its turnover, which at about £12m.

The company is raising the money to fund the introduction of a new texi system, electronic point-of-sale equipment and computerised settling equipment, to help develop some of its existing betting shops; and to finance the acquisition of individual, or small chains of, betting offices.

Carter currently has 72 outlets and aims to have more than 150 betting offices.

The company was founded in 1968 and is now run by Mr John Trewhitt, managing director, and his brother Nick, development director, who both assumed control from their father in 1985.

With the extension of betting office hours to include evening and Sunday opening, Carter expects to increase turnover. This will be further helped by other liberalising changes which came into effect on April 6.

## Equities find favour over bonds

By Peter John

Fund managers are moving their attention from bonds to equities, according to the latest Smith New Court/Galaxy survey of institutional investors.

While 28 per cent of managers were buyers of equities and 19 per cent were shifting money into the gilt market. Then, only a third believed in the near-term potential for UK equities, whereas now just over half (51 per cent) believe that the prospects over the next three months are positive.

The figures represent a significant contrast to the mood a month earlier, and come at a time when the FTSE 100 Index has risen to its highest level since last August. At 3,210.9 on

Friday, the index had recorded a gain of 230 points over the month and showed signs of breaking through a narrow trading range.

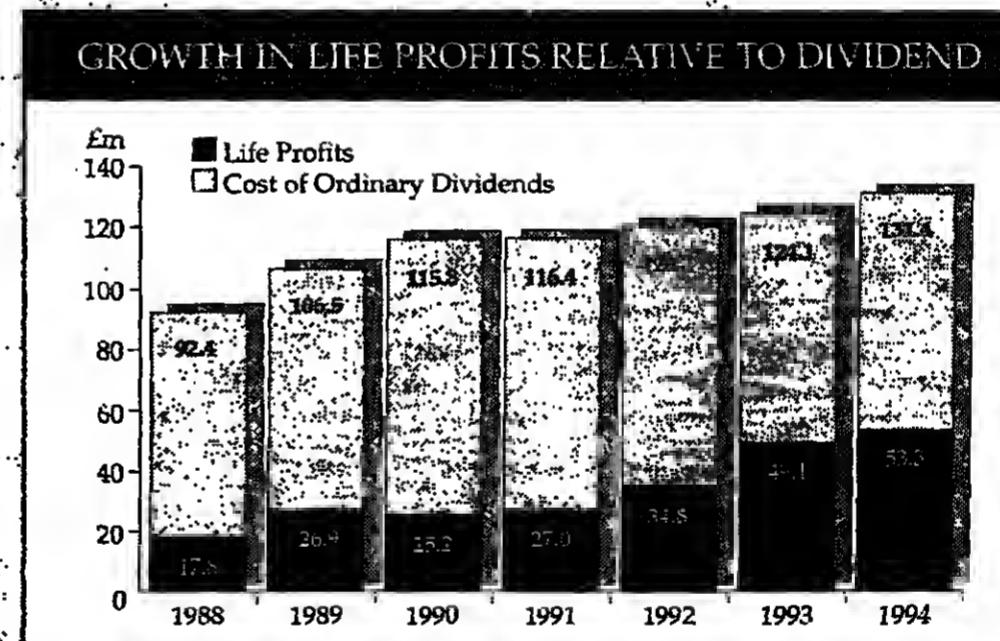
At the beginning of March, only 21 per cent of managers were buyers of equities and 19 per cent were shifting money into the gilt market. Then, only a third believed in the near-term potential for UK equities, whereas now just over half (51 per cent) believe that the prospects over the next three months are positive.

The survey, which covers 82 investment institutions responsible for funds totalling £1.091bn, also shows a change of asset allocation within the equity market. Over the past six months, investors have moved away from electricity stocks; 12.2 per cent of the sample chose it as the least favoured sector. Property stocks are also under a cloud.

One of the main beneficiaries has been the retailing sector, which has seen a shift over the past six months from a 4.7 per cent negative to an 8.1 per cent positive. Engineering and bank stocks are also popular, while the 29bn-plus takeover of Wellcome by Glaxo has enlivened pharmaceuticals.

# General Accident

## INCREASING CONTRIBUTION FROM LIFE OPERATIONS



### From the 1994 Annual Report:

- Record pre-tax profits for the year included an increased contribution of £53.3m from Life operations.
- In the UK, General Accident Life had another very successful year with new business premium income up 55% to £612m. This followed an encouraging increase in investment, pensions and building society-linked business.
- Estimated on a conservative basis, the embedded value of the group's Life business was up from £520m to £540m in 1994, despite a significant fall in investment values.

Nelson Robertson, Group Chief Executive, comments:

"We are encouraged by the growth in our Life business which is making an increasing contribution to the profitability of the group".

# General Accident plc

General Accident plc, World Headquarters: Pitheavlis, Perth, Scotland PH2 0NH  
A copy of General Accident's 1994 Annual Report can be obtained from the Company Secretary at the above address.

## COMPANY NEWS: UK RESULTS ROUND-UP

## ■ RAW MATERIALS

By Tim Burt

## Higher costs force a mood of caution

**M**any manufacturers have braced 1994 for the year when raw material price increases rose with a vengeance, reaching some of the highest levels seen for a decade.

Companies exposed to commodities such as pulp and paper, metals, rubbers and chemicals all endured sharp increases and some encountered fierce customer resistance when they tried to pass on the extra costs.

Among the largest rises, prices for bulk chemicals such as ethylene, propylene and styrene doubled during the year.

Spot prices for methanol rose 400 per cent, while orthoxylene climbed almost 200 per cent. Copper rose from \$1,767 per tonne to \$3,685; aluminium jumped 76 per cent from \$1,108 to \$1,851; and some grades of steel rose by up to 20 per cent.

Cotton and wool prices rose similarly; the cost of wood pulp increased 80 per cent, and publishers saw newsprint prices rise from \$410 to \$600 per tonne.

At the interim stage, many companies warned that margins were under pressure and cost-cutting was inevitable if they were to absorb higher costs.

For some, the caution was fully justified.

BICC, the world's second largest cable manufacturer and one of Britain's leading construction companies, cut its full-year dividend for the first time in 20 years after admitting it could not justify an increase while it struggled to recover commodity prices from unwilling customers.

Sir Robin Biggam, chairman, blamed higher raw material prices as the main factor behind a \$97m fall in cash flow and a \$60m rise in working capital requirements.

Smaller companies also felt the heat. Inveresk, the Scottish specialty paper manufacturer, saw profits fall more than 12 per cent after "unexpected and dramatic increases" in pulp prices.

For many others, however, initial fears over rising prices proved overblown. Prices for bulk chemicals and paper have yet to return to the levels of the 1980s and some companies are detecting signs that the production shortages and rampant demand which fuelled the increases have abated.

British VitrA, the foam and fibre group which warned last year that raw material prices were threatening its profitability, found that it had been able "substantially" to recover the harder than price cuts.

"The impact of raw material increases was vastly overdone," said one City analyst, while another accused BTR - among others - of misreading their ability to pass on prices.

Several analysts also pointed out that most manufacturing sectors "had never had it so good", with prices bumping along at historic lows for most of the past five years.

Where they were faced with steep increases, many large companies used their buying power to extract favourable deals from suppliers and relied on cheaper alternative materials where possible.

Charterhouse, the industrial engineering group, for example, began sourcing steel from lower cost overseas markets and reformulated some products to eliminate the costliest commodities.

"We've used our purchasing clout to do that, while increasing productivity and taking out costs where we can," the company said.

In the textile sector, similar re-engineering and cost cuts helped Coats Viyella, the UK's largest textile and clothing company, to absorb price increases and pass some on.

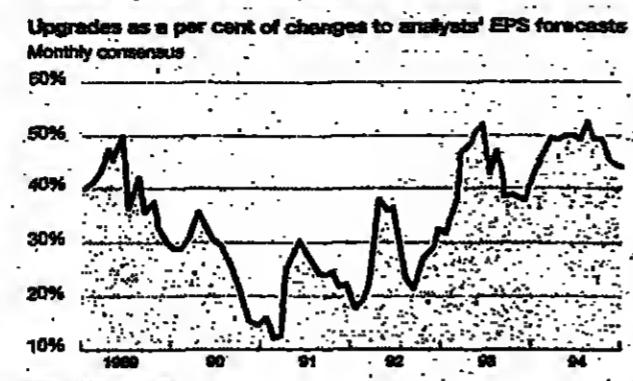
Welcoming an 18 per cent increase in underlying profits, Mr Neville Bain, chief executive, said: "The signs are there that we are going to be able to see good growth this year."

Contemplating 1994, the message from such executives is that raw material prices can be recovered when customers regard the goods they receive as high added-value products and not just repackaged commodities.

## A season of mellow fruitfulness

Corporate confidence is strengthening, Philip Coggan says, but the above-trend growth of earnings cannot continue.

## Changes for the better



Source: Smith New Court

rate profits can continue to grow at a double-digit rate. Mr Mark Tinker of James Capel is expecting 19 per cent growth of UK industry, which has repaid much of the debt it incurred in the 1980s.

Looking ahead to 1995 figures, analysts think that corpora-

Furthermore, the profits growth of the quoted corporate sector, which represents larger companies, is likely to be stronger than that of unquoted small businesses.

Mr Thakar says that about 50 per cent of the profits of the quoted corporate sector come from overseas. That portion will be boosted both by the decline in the pound (since the value of foreign currency earnings is higher in sterling terms) and by the worldwide economic recovery.

In addition, there are some sectors, particularly retailing and housebuilders, where larger companies may be continuing to gain market share at the expense of smaller outfits.

The above-trend growth of corporate earnings cannot continue for ever. Mr Kersley argues that by 1996, UK corporate profits growth may be rising in line with nominal GDP, at about 7 per cent. He thinks that higher pay increases will

mean that employees will be getting some of the benefits of recovery previously reserved for employers.

Unit labour costs have started to accelerate, with the annualised rate of growth in the three months to January reaching 8 per cent, its highest level since 1981. The outlook for corporate profits may also be threatened if Eddie George, governor of the Bank of England, persuades the government to increase interest rates substantially in head off inflationary pressures.

In terms of the stock market, much depends on when the peak in corporate earnings is likely to come. If 1995 is the peak year, the market will soon start to reduce the multiple it is prepared to pay for earnings as it looks ahead to the next recession.

But if the recovery can be sustained for the rest of the decade, along the lines of the 1980s boom, the stock market

should motor ahead.

Mr Amit Thakar, research accountant at ABN Amro Hoare Govett, believes that earnings are a few years away from their peak. He also thinks that the investors are underestimating the effect of low inflation, which will allow companies to pay out more of their earnings in dividends as they need less of a cushion against inflationary shocks.

At the moment, the market is in compromise mode. The consensus forecast for the end-year value of the FT-SE 100 Index is 3,500, just under 10 per cent higher than its current level. If the consensus expectation for earnings growth is 15 per cent, that suggests the market is allowing for a fall in the p/e multiple.

The official historic price-earnings ratio on the FT non-financial index has already come down from the 22-plus peak year it reached at the start of 1994 and is now, over 17, although some analysts calculate put it at about 16. If earnings do grow by 15 per cent this year, that would bring it down to a more comfortable, in historic terms, 15.5.

On the largest end of the scale, recent examples include an announcement of 1,750 job losses at Midland Bank, 2,200 job cuts at Northern Foods and 1,500 at British Aerospace's missile making subsidiary.

On a more moderate level, Laura Ashley is shedding 300 staff from its clothing and furnishings groups, while Taylor Woodrow has announced 250 losses from its construction division. Meanwhile, trimming in smaller companies has led employee roll calls falling across a range of sectors.

At face value these job cuts appear puzzling - official unemployment figures point to steady job growth in recent months, even in areas such as construction. The key to understanding these apparent contradictions lies not in the official data, but in the details of what managers are saying. For although most companies remain determined to control labour costs, they are doing so as much by changing the nature of jobs and pay, as by shedding numbers.

On the one hand, a drive to boost productivity is reducing staff in some sectors. Midland Bank says its job losses are partly aimed at cutting out a tier of middle management at head office.

Cornwall Park, the furniture group, is meanwhile seeking improved productivity. While its turnover has remained broadly constant in recent years, its employee numbers have fallen, the group plans to merge two factories to reduce labour costs further by cutting 85 jobs.

On the other hand, behind the noise of companies keen to trumpet productivity gains, job growth is still occurring in some sectors - albeit more slowly and quietly.

Rover, for example, recently announced that it would hire 2,000 to expand car production. "Clearly labour costs have increased, but the increase has been in line with expected returns," says Ian Strachan, group spokesman, who says overall labour costs will rise 10 per cent this year.

But other job creation has been less visible. Dalepak, for example, announced 75 job losses at its Hull food processing plant; it took over from Ross Young. But it is also creating 70 jobs at the plant as part of restructuring - albeit in a climate of tight wage control and further efficiency gains, according to Mr Peter Holley, finance director.

At Taylor Woodrow, 250 jobs have been shed in its construction sector while 100 jobs have been created in the wholesale and marketing arm. It believes there has been additional job creation among its house building subcontractors.

As Taylor Woodrow's story indicates, many of these new jobs are apt to occur among subcontractors or consultants. And although this trend lends a gloss to corporate efficiency, it does little to breed any security - or "feel-good" factor among remaining employees.

## ■ JOBS

By Christopher Price

## Behind the gloss lurks insecurity

**I**f Mr Kenneth Clarke, the chancellor, sees reason for the current "feast" factor, he need look no further than the recent company results. For in spite of rising corporate profits over the past year, there has been little respite from company job cuts.

At the largest end of the scale, recent examples include an announcement of 1,750 job losses at Midland Bank, 2,200 job cuts at Northern Foods and 1,500 at British Aerospace's missile making subsidiary.

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## ■ CAPITAL SPENDING

By David Wighton

## A return to faith in investment culture

T

hose optimists about the UK economy will have found plenty to support their view in the company results season. In particular, it has brought signs of the upturn in capital investment that has been so noticeable by its absence.

Virtually all the leading industrial companies reporting 1994 figures plan increases in capital investment this year. For some it will be a big jump.

Glynwood, the Birmingham-based group which spans medium technology engineering markets, said it would increase capital investment by almost a fifth. The figures also showed an upward revision in the overall level of investment.

The Central Statistical Office said one reason for the revision was stronger than expected investment in the paper, pulp and plastics sectors at the end of the year. This is reflected at Bowater, the largest company in the paper and packaging sector, where expenditure jumped to £170m (£118m) and is forecast to reach £200m this year. An even steeper increase is planned at Low & Bonar, the Scotland-based packaging group, where investment is set to jump by up to 40 per cent from 1994 but it looks as if even this will be exceeded.

Yet while manufacturing investment is outpacing dividends, pessimists point out that much of the industrial investment is designed to reduce costs rather than increase capacity.

Redland said the stress was on productivity rather than growth, as did Williams Holdings, which plans to increase investment by more than a quarter this year.

Several manufacturing companies have cited the lack of inflation in their selling prices as one stimulus to increased capital investment. They argue that in a low-growth world they will have to work harder to keep profits rising.

The most dramatic example was Redland, the building materials group, which cut its dividend by a third partly blaming poor growth prospects

## Companies will no longer be able to rely on market expansion to generate their profits growth'

but looked exceptionally high relative to its earnings prospects and other companies have accompanied the step-up in investment with higher payments to shareholders.

At the start of the reporting season the most optimistic City forecasters were looking for dividend growth of 10 per cent for 1994 but it looks as if even this will be exceeded.

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Sunshine and showers: the outlook for corporate profits may be threatened if Eddie George, governor of the Bank of England, persuades the government to increase interest rates

## ■ ANNUAL REPORTS

By William Lewis

## Pay pages turn over a new leaf

**R**adical improvements in the way companies disclose details of directors' pay is the dominant theme of the 1994 annual reports so far sent to shareholders. For once the focus has shifted from the size of year-on-year salary rises to what directors are now willing to reveal to shareholders about their pay.

It is clear from many of the annual reports that substantial changes have occurred in the way companies such as British Gas and National Westminster Bank give shareholders details of directors' pay.

The changes are emerging at a crucial time in the debate on executive pay in the UK. The Greenbury committee, set up with government backing under the chairmanship of Sir Richard Greenbury, chairman of Marks & Spencer, is attempting to design guidelines for companies to follow on executive pay.

Following attacks by Mr Gordon Brown, shadow chancellor, on share option profits made by directors of privatised utilities, Mr John Major, the prime minister, said he would consider introducing legislation once the Greenbury committee has published its report.

The committee is certain to recommend that companies

pay to shareholders. One remunerations consultant said: "We are not daft, we can see this coming and so we are telling clients that they should get in first."

At British Gas, which is facing a revolt at its annual meeting on changes to its directors' remuneration structure, the annual report has five pages of details on pay. A breakdown of each director's salary is given, pension details, information on share options and an explanation of a new bonus scheme.

However, one fund manager warns: "Some companies may have to be forced kicking and screaming into this new transparent world."

Charterhouse disagrees, believing the sector will disappoint in comparison to its rating. James Capel has shaved its media earnings forecast by 2 per cent for 1995.

The rest of the retail sector, including food and stores, are under-represented in the December year-end contingent. Iceland was the only large supermarket group to report. Likewise household goods, breweries, electronic and electrical equipment, leisure and hotels, electricity, telecommunications, water and other services and businesses have had disproportionately few companies reporting.

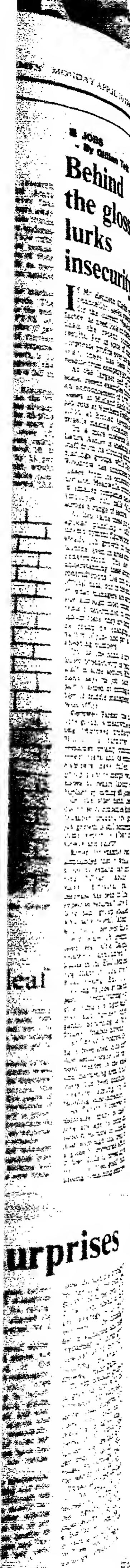
There were some spectacular gains among building and construction groups, although the recovery had been mostly fuelled by the market. Among the highlights were the 42 per cent rise in pre-tax profits at Barratt Developments and Taylor Woodrow's 88 per cent increase.

Charterhouse, which calcu-

lates the sector's average profit rise at 45 per cent, expects growth of 35 per cent in 1995 - 20 per cent ahead of the market average - as the slow recovery in the housing market is sustained and costs are contained. Dividend growth is forecast at 10 per cent. The building materials sector showed similar gains.

All explorations groups came largely in line with market forecasts, but surprised with larger than expected dividend rises. The chemicals sector posted a strong showing dominated by ICI, which increased underlying pre-tax profits by 24 per cent to \$614m. SGST also raised its earnings forecast for the sector by 10 per cent.

Banks

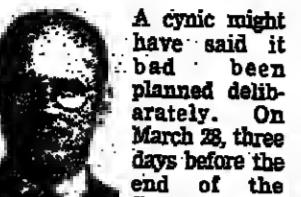


Behind  
the gloss  
lurks  
insecuri-

नई दिशाओं में पहला  
कदम रखनेवाला सर्वप्रथम बैंक

ING BANK

रोड नं.: ९१.२२.२८७०९६२ फॉक्स: ९१.२२.२८७०९३४



A cynic might have said it had been planned deliberately. On March 28, three days before the end of the financial year, two of Japan's largest banks announced their intention to merge and become the biggest bank in the world. As usual with mega-mergers, the Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi news lifted a depressed stock market and the Nikkei 225 Index jumped nearly 600 points.

But so happened that it was also a crucial week in the intimate relationship between Japanese banks and share prices. At the end of the financial year, on March 31, banks are required to mark up losses on their enormous holdings of equities in other companies. Shares bought when the Nikkei 225 was lower than its year-end figure must be marked to market as revaluation losses. Conveniently, the leap induced by the merger meant those losses were rather smaller than they would have been had news of the deal not been leaked.

But although the merger brought banks a little respite from the continuing vicissitudes of the country's financial markets, it was by no means enough to eliminate them.

A wise and cynical US government official remarked at last year's international jobs summit in Detroit: "When you hear the words labour market flexibility, watch out for your wallet."

This warning will certainly ring true with the employees of UK companies like Laura Ashley, Northern Foods and Midland Bank, each of which has announced big redundancy programmes in recent weeks. Coming three years into a recovery, these job cuts provide a salutary reminder that one person's flexibility is another's insecurity.

Even so, the government has been unrepentant in its attempts to grease the wheels of the labour market over the past 15 years. Ministers argue that this will enable the economy to sustain lower rates of unemployment without putting upward pressure on inflation. Most of the relevant initiatives can be interpreted as attempts to cut the cost of hiring and firing.

Take some examples. First, the period employee have to work for a company before being able to seek legal redress for unfair dismissal was doubled to two years in 1986. This makes it easier to shed unwanted labour taken on relatively recently.

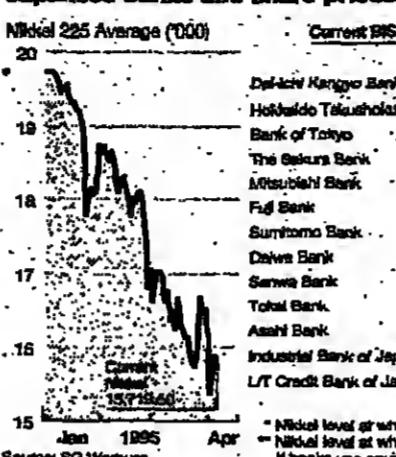
Second, legislation has made it more difficult for trades unions to organise strikes in response to redundancy announcements. This can also be seen as an indirect attempt to make firing easier.

Hiring costs have been reduced too. Schemes like the Department of Employment's Restart programme have helped (not to say forced) the unemployed to look more effectively for work, so companies have less need to use recruitment agencies.

Benefits have also been made more difficult to claim and less generous relative to

## Banks' capital cushion loses its stuffing

Japanese banks and share prices:



\* Nikkei level at which BIS ratio falls below 8%

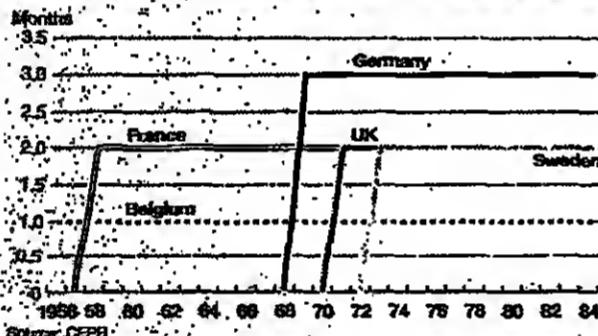
\*\* Nikkei level at which BIS ratio falls below 7%

† Banks use equity gains against bad loans

Economics Notebook / Robert Chote

## When flexibility equals insecurity

Notice period to worker with 10 years' tenure



earnings, encouraging more people to apply for every job.

But judging the impact of such measures on the flexibility of the labour market is far from easy. It is tempting simply to draw a conclusion from the rate of unemployment at which inflation begins to rise. If measures to boost flexibility have been successful, so the argument goes, this "natural" unemployment rate should have fallen since the 1980s.

Alas, it is not quite that simple. Inflation can rise while unemployment is still above its natural rate. Greater flexibility in wage and price setting may mean that inflation "overshoots" downwards after the recession. If so, it would rebound automatically to a level more consistent with people's expectations, whatever the rate of unemployment. This means it would be wrong to conclude that flexibility had not improved simply because inflation picked up while unemployment was still high.

Most of the above measures should increase flexibility and so reduce persistence. But the study notes some evidence that persistence may have risen during the 1980s. For example, overtime working rose in the second half of the decade. It argues: "Even at a relatively high unemployment rate, when labour supply is plentiful, employers now seem more willing to incur overtime premiums rather than increase the workforce."

Anderton and Soteri conclude that the speed with which the labour market adjusts to disturbances may have become asymmetric in the 1980s; that is, it responds more quickly when unemployment is falling than when it is rising. This may be because firing costs have fallen more than hiring costs.

Another possibility is that the demand for labour has been made more flexible but

attempt to assess changes in the flexibility of the UK labour market. It calculates "persistence": the delay before unemployment returns to a sustainable level after a temporary increase.

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Another possibility is that the demand for labour has been made more flexible but

the supply of it has not. This may reflect a wider disparity between the types of jobs on offer and the types of workers available to do them.

Anderton and Soteri draw on familiar explanations to explain why this might be the case. They argue that the UK's skills base may have atrophied because of rises in long-term unemployment.

The paper depicts the UK labour market as one in which unskilled and semi-skilled male former factory workers struggle to find jobs in an economy dominated by a service sector which would rather employ low-paid, female part-timers. If, in addition, labour market reforms have had an asymmetric impact upon labour demand, a core group may experience further difficulties in re-entering employment."

But perhaps just as persuasive an explanation for the continued inertia in the labour market is uncertainty about macroeconomic developments. Both hiring and firing are, in effect, investments, with costs that cannot be recouped by reversing the decision. So the transition from boom to deep recession may well have instilled a nervousness that makes companies reluctant to hire or fire, but especially the former.

These uncertainties only demonstrate how difficult it is yet to assess the profound structural reforms carried out in the UK labour market during the 1980s. The task is not eased by the poor quality of labour market data, which will be highlighted again in two days' time when the Department of Employment rewrites history to accord with the 1991 census. It may be a long time before the statistical dust has settled and the flexibility debate can confidently be resolved.

\*The Determination, Persistence and Flexibility of UK Employment and Unemployment, by B Anderton and S Soteri, NIESR discussion paper.

## Total return in local currency to 6/4/95

	% change over period			
	US	Japan	Germany	France
Cash	-0.12	-0.04	-0.08	-0.15
Month	-0.51	-0.20	-0.41	-0.57
Year	-4.98	-2.44	-5.38	-5.94
Bonds 5-6 year	-0.47	-0.95	-0.90	-0.12
Week	-1.02	-2.03	-2.42	-1.29
Month	-2.68	-3.19	-3.46	-2.65
Year	-8.37	-8.30	-8.08	-8.72
Bonds 7-10 year	-0.61	-1.44	-0.78	-0.15
Week	-0.61	-1.44	-0.78	-0.15
Month	-2.68	-3.19	-3.46	-2.65
Year	-8.37	-8.30	-8.08	-8.72
Equity	-0.8	-3.2	-0.8	-1.9
Week	-0.8	-3.2	-0.8	-1.9
Month	-4.3	-6.1	-4.7	-4.3
Year	-18.4	-19.2	-10.2	-15.8

Source: Cash & Bonds - Lehman Brothers, Equities - ING-NorthWest Securities. FT-Actuaries World Indices are jointly owned by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman Sachs & Co. and NorthWest Securities Limited.

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fall below BIS minima if they accounted for all their problem loans.

If the market falls further, several other banks would be dragged under the minimum capital levels. And if banks chose not to offset their loan losses with equity sales, they would, of course, be forced into the red.

Sumitomo Bank has already announced that it will pursue this path when it declares its results. But this strategy, of course, has similarly damaging effects on banks' capital. After tax losses will diminish Tier 1 capital by reducing reserves. Sumitomo's decision will have the effect of reducing its capital ratio by almost 1 percentage point. Few banks, however, have Sumitomo's capital strength to enable them to follow suit.

Either way, banks will see a small capital base shrink further, unless the stock market stages an unlikely spectacular recovery.

The lesson in all this is familiar, but more important than ever. Japanese banks are underwritten with real capital, and too dependent on the increasing phoney capital of equity prices. Until they act to redress that balance, most of them will remain in an under-capitalised limbo, trusting to luck in a capricious stock market.

Richard Mooney

## COMMODITIES

## Coffee scheme may be delayed

The new coffee export retention scheme agreed by producing countries last month is due to come into operation tomorrow – provided market levels do not rise dramatically.

But disagreements between Brazilian exporters and growers on how to implement the plan has raised doubts about its starting on time.

"The implementation of the scheme, which is resting on Brazil's shoulders, will most likely be delayed," a Latin American delegate to the Association of Coffee Producing

Countries told the Reuters news agency on Friday.

"It is a mess," he said. "We are all waiting for Brazil to decide."

The ACPC countries agreed to retain up to 20 per cent of their exports if prices of arabica and robusta beans on world markets were below predetermined levels by April 11.

Informal calculations suggest that at present prices are just below the trigger for a 20 per cent cut on exports of arabica coffee, the mild type produced chiefly in Latin America, and

around the trigger for a more modest 10 per cent cut on robusta, produced mainly in Africa and Asia.

Participating countries, including leading arabica producers Colombia and Brazil and key robusta producers Ivory Coast and Indonesia, had to choose between the use of export quotas or retention before April 11.

But despite the problem of Brazil's indecision, a Central American delegate to the ACPC, who requested anonymity, told Reuters that there was

no prospect of the scheme being scrapped.

"That would be suicidal," he said. "It may be delayed but it can't be forgotten."

Following an informal meeting of representatives from the private sector, held during an international coffee week in Varginha, Minas Gerais, Brazil's main coffee state, Mr Jair Cesar, president of Brazil's Federation of Coffee Exporters, said: "One thing is certain – Brazil will fulfil its commitment to the Association of Coffee Producing Countries."

£200,000,000

9 3/4 per cent. Bonds 2020

Issue price 99.94 per cent.

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Issued by S.G. Warburg Securities Ltd.

FRIDAY APRIL 7 1995											
THURSDAY APRIL 6 1995											
DOLLAR INDEX											
US	Pound	Yen	DM	Currency	Local	%	Gold	DM	2 week	52 week	
Dollar	Sterling	Yen	DM	Index	Index	Index	Index	Index	ago	ago	
Index	Index	Index	Index	Index	Index	Index	Index	Index	Index	Index	
Australia (93)	-0.67	-0.28	173.49	100.79	153.11	4.0	2.92	170.46	107.12	111.97	159.95
Austria (27)	187.66	-0.2	27.13	98.83	124.18	1.4	-0.5	107.29	134.29	134.29	169.05
Belgium (58)											

## NEW YORK

Maggie Urry

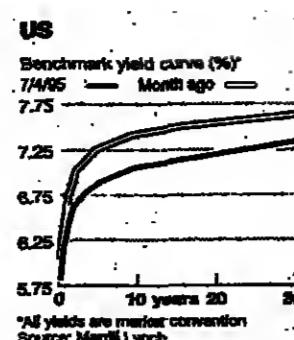
The US Treasury bond market is vulnerable to any hint of higher inflation, as it showed on Friday when confronted with a slightly worrying indication from the Columbia University inflation index.

The market reversed an early rise, on weak jobs data, and the long bond yield, which had fallen to 7.34 per cent by Thursday night, backed up on Friday afternoon to almost 7.4 per cent.

So bond dealers will be watching this week's economic news carefully. Developments in the currency markets will also be followed keenly.

A slew of economic statistics is due, starting with the producer price index on Tuesday, which is expected to show a 0.2 per cent rise, down from 0.3 per cent in February. A 0.3 per cent increase, the same as in February, is forecast in the consumer price index, due on Wednesday.

Economists expect a bounce in retail sales figures on Thursday from the fall in



February, to a 0.4 per cent rise in March.

The markets will be closed on Friday but investors will be watching for signs of economic slowdown in data for March industrial production, expected to fall by 0.1 per cent after February's 0.5 per cent rise.

Capacity utilisation is forecast to slip to 85.5 per cent from 85.7 per cent. Business inventories are predicted to have risen by 0.9 per cent in February, the same as in January.

## LONDON

Martin Brode

Gilt market investors will be casting a careful eye over the raft of UK economic data due this week.

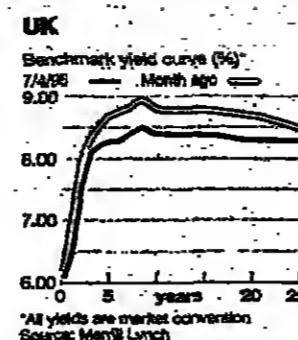
Investors might become nervous over the outlook for interest rates if the figures are disappointing. While interest rates have not yet changed since the monthly monetary policy meeting on Wednesday between Mr Kenneth Clarke, the chancellor and Mr Eddie George, the governor of the Bank of England, there is a chance that the two may have agreed to increase rates once they have seen the latest economic indicators.

Producer prices for March are due today and the CBI Distribution Survey for March on Tuesday. Wednesday sees March unemployment figures, and average earnings and manufacturers' costs for February.

Figures for retail prices, due on Thursday, will be studied for signs of inflation. Prices for March are expected by brokers Williams de Broe to have risen by 0.4 per cent on the month, with the same figure for prices excluding mortgages and prices excluding mortgages and indirect taxes.

The January balance of payments figure is also due on Thursday.

Friday and next Monday are UK holidays when investors can worry about the contents of the minutes of the March 8 meeting of Mr Clarke and Mr George, which are published on Wednesday.



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## FRANKFURT

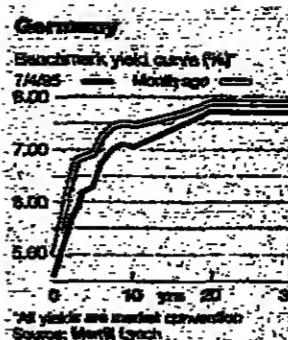
Andrew Fisher

As the Bundesbank's latest easing has become absorbed by the markets, attention has shifted again to the fiscal policies of countries inside and outside Europe.

The markets have punished the currencies and bonds of those countries, such as Italy, which have high budget deficits and debt problems.

Bundesbank directors, including president Hans Tietmeyer and vice-president Johann Wilhelm Gauck, have made clear that intervention on currency markets can only have a limited effect if countries, including the US, do not put their own houses in order.

The European Monetary Institute, forerunner of the planned European central bank, said economic convergence under the Maastricht Treaty is not yet adequate to prevent pressure from currency and bond markets. With only Germany and Luxembourg meeting inflation, debt and budgetary



criteria last year, the markets still have plenty of targets.

With German inflation down to an annual 2.3 per cent rate in March and money supply under control, the Bundesbank felt able to cut its rates last month as the D-Mark remained strong. This week, the first variable rate repo tender for some months is expected to show no appreciable change from the 4.5 per cent at which last week's fixed-rate operation was conducted.

## TOKYO

Emiko Terazawa

The appreciation of the yen to record levels and the decline in stock prices have spread pessimism over the expected economic recovery, supporting the Japanese government bond market.

The fall in overnight call rates as a result of the Bank of Japan's easing has also been a positive factor for bond prices, with the yield on the 10-year benchmark edging towards 3.4 per cent.

However, traders say volume has remained subdued compared with last month, when hope of a cut in the official discount rate prompted a rush of buying.

Although some analysts say continued sluggishness in demand for funds among corporations will prompt further bond investments by institutions, there is no clear evidence that this is happening.

How much further yields will fall remains to be seen, but since bond prices have discounted a 50 basis point cut



in the ODR, investors may be wary of buying up the market at current levels.

Volatility on the stock market and strength of the yen is likely to help the bond market in the short term. If the this week's government's emergency economic support package disappoints investors, the bond market could see a rally.

However this will mean the market will be increasingly vulnerable to adverse news.

## German bonds

## Yield prospects hinge on US Treasuries

The strength of the German bond market and the unusual steepness of the German yield curve were the main focus of interest in European government bond markets last week.

The 10-year benchmark bond yield came close to breaking downwards through the 7 per cent level for the first time since August last year, while the gap in yield between three- and 10-year paper widened to over 125 basis points, its widest since 1988.

The catalyst was the unexpected decision by the Bundesbank on March 30 to lower the German discount rate by 1/2 percentage point to 4 per cent and to cut the securities repurchase rate to 4.5 per cent.

Investors initially reacted to the cuts with dismay, suspecting that they were done for political reasons to support the ailing dollar rather than for domestic economic reasons.

The yield curve steepened sharply as investors switched to shorter-dated debt from the more vulnerable longer-dated maturities.

However, investors then began to reassess Germany's

growth prospects after the interest rate cut and in view of the D-Mark's continued strength, which looks set to eat into exports and slow economic growth.

This fuelled renewed demand for longer-dated German debt, as investors moved out along the yield curve to capture the higher yields on offer there and also in anticipation of substantial price appreciation should yields begin to fall as growth slows and inflationary pressures decline.

There is now a better tone to bonds, helped by the unexpected loosening of monetary policy, but also the initial concern that policy had become too lax has now been balanced by the strong D-Mark and the feeling that monetary conditions overall remain tight," said Mr Stephen Hannan, director of research at IBA International in London.

The renewed investor interest in D-Mark debt spilled over from the domestic government bond market into the international market with a flood of D-Mark-denominated eurobonds issued.

Most analysts believe this strong demand for German debt is set to continue, with economic data due to be published over the coming weeks

likely to point to continued weak inflationary pressures.

"Low money supply and inflation figures for March and April are likely to be seen as further vindication of the Bundesbank's move and will encourage people to believe, particularly with a strong D-Mark, that when the 7 per cent yield level is broken the market has the potential to rally to 6 per cent or lower," said Mr George Magnus, international economist at S.G. Warburg.

The appeal of moving further out along the yield curve to pick up an extra 120 basis points in yield and also to participate in any yield curve flattening that may occur - so-called "curve flattening" trades - should also remain.

"A number of accounts are taking advantage of the steepness of the yield curve," said Mr Hannan. "With short rates remaining low for at least the next few months, it makes sense to move up the yield curve to get a higher yield." Following the Bundesbank's cut in interest rates, many analysts have revised back the

date at which they expect the first rise in German interest rates to take place.

But both Mr Hannan and Mr Magnus remain cautious about how long the shift out along the yield curve will continue.

Mr Sanjay Joshi, chief economist at Daiwa in London, thinks the shift along the yield curve is likely to be short-lived, with the curve likely to continue to steepen. "Investors will not be looking at curve flattening trades as long as the D-Mark continues to appreciate."

As ever, much depends on what happens in the US Treasury market. If Treasuries weaken the rally in bonds is likely to be curtailed.

"While a move in yields below 7 per cent is quite plausible, it is contingent on the US market," said Mr Magnus. And the key to the Treasury market is likely to be how it withstands the fall in the US dollar, "the overshoot" said Mr Magnus, "is bound to be higher US interest rates across the length of the yield curve".

Graham Bowley

## German yield curve

10 year bond minus 3 year bond (percentage points)

Source: Datastream

1994 95

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## GOVERNMENT OF GHANA

DIVESTITURE OF STATE INTEREST IN ENTERPRISES  
REGISTRATION OF PRIVATE SECTOR FIRMS  
FOR DIVESTITURE SERVICESACCELERATION OF THE  
DIVESTITURE PROGRAMME

Government of Ghana has, since 1988, embarked on a programme of privatisation of its State Owned Enterprises.

The Government, through its Privatisation Agency, The Divestiture Implementation Committee (DIC), is committed to an acceleration of the Divestiture Programme by means of increased sub-contracting of work to the Private Sector whilst monitoring the sub-contracted work to ensure that it is carried out in accordance with the DIC's Statutory responsibilities and in a fully effective manner.

The DIC will maintain a Register of pre-qualified sub-contractors to undertake work on divestitures. Sub-contractors will be selected from the Register to submit specific proposals for the work on the divestiture of specific State Owned Enterprises (SOEs).

Private sector firms to whom the DIC will subcontract work will include accountants, management consultants, commercial law firms, merchant banks, investment banks and asset valuers.

International firms should involve local firms. Local firms should confirm that skills and experience will be supplemented by International firms, if required.

Ghanian and International firms are invited to register their interest and qualifications to undertake Divestiture Work. Applicants must give evidence to justify their inclusion on a Register of firms considered suitable for such work. The statement of justification should include:

A statement of relevant experience during the last three years indicating the major assignments, clients, dates, man-months of work undertaken and fees.

- Current number of permanent professional staff, specifying the CVs of staff who would be engaged on divestiture work.
- Working relationships, actual or planned, with local or international firms.

PRE-QUALIFICATION OF FIRMS  
FOR SUB-CONTRACT WORK

The Pre-qualification of firms for the Register of Private Sector Firms eligible to undertake divestiture work will be undertaken in a fully transparent manner. The successful applicants to join the register will be published. Membership of the Register does not indicate that the firm will be invited to quote for all types of work but only that for which they were pre-qualified.

The choice of sub-contractor for a major piece of divestiture work will be made by evaluating proposals from firms, selected from the Register, who have been invited to quote for the divestiture work.

## METHOD OF APPLICATION

Registration fees are US\$100 and £50,000 for foreign and local firms respectively. A set of procedures including the content and method of application, can be obtained from:

Executive Secretary,  
Divestiture Implementation Committee  
F3/5 Ring Road East, North Labone,  
P.O. Box C102, Cantonments, Accra, Ghana.

Tel: 233 (0) 21 772049 / 773126  
Fax: 233 (0) 21 773126

Full applications must be received by Friday, April 14, 1995.

SAMDICE

## Emerging markets

## Brady issues continue their rally

After a tumultuous beginning to the year, improvements in economic prospects of a number of developing countries are bringing much needed relief to the Brady bond market.

Despite some minor hiccups, a month-long rally in the price of Bradas - issued by governments in exchange for distressed commercial bank debt - continued last week. Since March 8, when prices in the \$135bn market slumped to an historic low, prices have risen by about 18 per cent, according to an index compiled by West Merchant Bank.

The strength of the rally has taken people by surprise. No-one had any idea that it would take prices as high as they have come," said Mr Richard Segal, an economist at Bank of America. "It has been one of the best four-week periods in the last two years.

The recent improvement still leaves the market well short of the levels reached shortly before Christmas, when a devaluation in Mexico plunged it into a steep decline. Yet many traders are confident that the market is bound for further rises about convertibility than there were in February," says Mr Paul Luke, head of emerging market research at Morgan Grenfell.

Many investors are also now taking the view that the Mexican economic adjustment programme recently by US Treasury bonds has also helped because 30-year zero-coupon Treasuries provide collateral for the Bradys.

In Argentina, with

"I think we've turned the corner," says Mr Alexis Rodzianko, managing director, emerging markets at Chemical Banking in New York. "The psychology has changed. It's sell on any rise - now it's buy on a dip," he says.

Fears that Argentina would be forced to devalue its currency, breaking the link with the dollar, have proved unfounded and the market has been buoyed by the agreement of \$2.8bn in loans from the IMF, some \$435m of which was to be disbursed on Friday.

Argentine Bradys have been the star performers over the past month, rising by 36.9 per cent between March 8 and April 7, according to the West Merchant Bank index.

The financing package for Argentina removed the fear that the convertibility plan was about to collapse, says Mr Peter West, economic adviser at WMB.

"In Argentina, with reserves having recovered and Cavallo [Mr Domingo Cavallo, the economy minister] having demonstrated much more leadership, there are far fewer worries about convertibility than there were in February," says Mr Paul Luke, head of emerging market research at Morgan Grenfell.

Many investors are also now taking the view that the Mexican economic adjustment programme is viable, a perception which has helped bolster the battered currency and buoyed the local stock market.

## NEW INTERNATIONAL BOND ISSUES

Borrower Amount £. Maturity Coupon % Price Yield % Spread up Book name

ITALIAN LIFE 1500 Apr 1995 200 90.82 10.05 Credit Reiting

GALERIS 225 Jul 2001 7.00 100.92 0.00 +100.51-0.01 ABN Amro House Gf

GEV 225 May 2000 3.50 97.37 0.51 +37.00-0.01 ABN Amro House Gf

LUXEMBOURG FRANCE 100 Dec 2000 7.75 101.574 5.927 +116.00-0.01 ECR Luxembourg

REDFERNS 25 Apr 2001 7.25 102.40 7.22 Credit Reiting

REDFERNS 25 Apr 2001 7.25 102.30 7.25 Credit Reiting

REDFERNS 25 Apr 2001 7.25 102.20 7.22 Credit Reiting

REDFERNS 25 Apr 2001 7.25 102.10 7.20 Credit Reiting

REDFERNS 25 Apr 2001 7.25 102.00 7.18 Credit Reiting

REDFERNS 25 Apr 2001 7.25 101.90 7.16 Credit Reiting

REDFERNS 25 Apr 2001 7.25 101.80 7.14 Credit Reiting

REDFERNS 25 Apr 2001 7.25 101.70 7.12 Credit Reiting

## EMERGING MARKETS: This Week

The Emerging Investor / John Barham

## Flavour of the month: Turkish Delight

**T**urkey may be unpopular in the foreign ministries of the western world following its incursion into northern Iraq, but it is very much the flavour of the month in dealing rooms around the globe.

For shell-shocked emerging market investors, Turkey is one of the few bright spots in an otherwise dismal scene. The Istanbul stock exchange soared last month, bursting through one record barrier after another.

Many market-watchers are sure that this bull run has a long way to go. Ms Zeynep Tansu Ciller, general manager of Istanbul-based TEB Research, says "what we are seeing is a correction. The stock exchange was very cheap. I do not think it will go back [down] to its original level, this is structural."

The market crashed by half last year, but began coming back in February with a 15 per cent increase followed by a 37 per cent rise in March. Prices have climbed further 12 per cent so far this month, with the market closing at 44,622 on Friday.

Mr Tim Tulkington, of Istanbul's Global Securities brokerage, thinks there is still room for the market index to rise another 20 per cent before a correction sets in. In spite of the recent price surge, he puts the market's prospective price/earnings ratio at only 7.5.

Trading volume has also hit

new records of \$350m a day, about six times more than on some of the grimmest days last year. Brokers say fresh cash inflows, fuelled by weakness in alternative currency, gold and bond markets continued to power demand for shares.

Buyers were further encouraged by a one-year bond auction where the Treasury cut the average interest on its paper by 22.3 points to 9.42 per cent.

For those outside Turkey, this bout of optimism will probably seem surprising. After all, most of the recent news from Turkey has been unmittingly negative. At the beginning of March, the worst riots in 15 years exploded in Istanbul, killing over 20 people. On March 20 came the Turkish army's incursion into northern Iraq, which further blackened Turkey's name internationally.

However, to locals the incursion came as a firm buying signal. They saw it as a sign that the government was preparing political reforms to deal with the Kurdish insurgency with a show of strength. The operation in Iraq also received positive coverage in the local media, strengthening Mrs Tansu Ciller, the deeply unpopular prima minister. Early elections, feared as a destabilising factor for the economy, now seem unlikely.

These positive trends were reinforced by the signing on March 6 of a long-delayed customs union treaty with the EU

and the realignment in February of the governing coalition.

Even that economy, which last year contracted by 6 per cent, looks relatively healthy. Inflation is slowing, bringing interest rates down with it. The balance of payments is recovering.

**B**ut although the market picked up with the Kurdish army's push into Iraq, economists worry how the government is financing the operation. If the army digs in for a long stay, economists fear the government may be forced to allow inflation now at a relatively modest 4.1 per cent a month, to build up again.

Analysts are now poring over companies' 1994 results and are surprised by what they see. Many companies saw real earnings growth last year, even though wholesale price

inflation hit 150 per cent and demand for all but the most essential goods collapsed.

TEB's analysts found that although listed companies' aggregate earnings fell by nearly a third in dollar terms to \$2.16bn in 1994, about one in three of them were able to boost dollar earnings. This top third of the market increased profits by almost half to \$620m.

Strangely, the most profitable companies are majority-owned by the government.

TEB reports that Petkim, a petrochemicals company majority-owned by the government, increased profits by \$96m, or 75 per cent, over 1993.

There is a simple explanation for such strong performance. In most cases, compa-

nies managed to offset their falling sales revenues with easy earnings from high-yielding financial markets. At times, the government pushed interest rates as high as 80 per cent in real terms.

But despite all the positive vibrations from Istanbul, the country's political mood remains tense.

Turkey's economic fundamentals remain wobbly: industrial output fell 4 per cent in the first two months of the year; the government has not convincingly attacked its deficit; the currency is becoming overvalued.

Customs union hailed as a political triumph for Mrs Ciller, will be a nightmare for many financially weak Turkish companies which must face increased competition from stronger EU-based rivals. Yet, rejection of the treaty by the European Parliament - which is due to debate its ratification in the autumn - in protest at Turkey's human rights record, would be a terrible setback for the government and therefore bed for the market.

This is why analysts always qualify their forecasts with caveats familiar to emerging market specialists.

One US market-watcher said "the market is going too fast. The danger is that there is no real rationale. People just buy numbers, its pure speculation." His advice? For the time being, buy but be ready to sprint for the exits.

## Mexico's market on the mend

Leslie Crawford in Mexico City

The Mexican stock market is beginning to emerge from the wreckage of December's devaluation as confidence in the government's new economic programme takes hold.

But despite all the positive vibrations from Istanbul, the country's political mood remains tense.

Equities have made steady gains since Mr Guillermo Ortiz, the finance minister, announced an emergency plan on March 9 to stabilise the country's financial markets.

The measures included a 10 per cent cut in government spending, increases in value added tax and public tariffs for electricity and petrol, and measures to support Mexico's shaky banking system.

Since then, the Mexican currency has stabilised at about 6.4 pesos to the dollar, against 7 pesos at the height of the financial crisis, while the IPC stock market index has recovered more than 20 per cent of its value. With the depreciation of the peso, however, share prices in dollar terms are still 35 per cent lower than at the beginning of the year.

Nevertheless, investors have taken courage from the stock market rally, now in its fourth consecutive week. A spate of encouraging figures, including a rapid improvement in the government's fiscal accounts and a foreign trade balance which in February moved into surplus, have begun to reassure investors that the worst of the crisis may be over.

The registry, under a technical services agreement with the Bank of New York,

## News round-up

## ■ Debt funds

The performance of emerging market debt funds as tracked by Micropal has been particularly poor over the past 12 months. The average performance of 39 global

emerging market debt funds on a one year time span has been minus 13.4 per cent, with Latin American debt markets being the worst performers over that same period, down 26 per cent.

Micropal notes that Brazil and Argentina are the two most favoured countries among 39 emerging market debt fund managers. With combined net assets under management of \$5.3bn, just over \$1.3bn was invested in Brazil, while some \$777m was invested in Argentinian instruments.

will provide large Russian enterprises with an independent share registration service which will meet the requirements of both local and international investors. The Russian Registry Company will be based in Moscow and is expected to establish up to 20 locations throughout the country.

● The French Commission des Opérations de Bourse is expected to sign an agreement with the Russian authorities to develop the latter's equity market.

## ■ Jakarta

Ernst & Young International, the international accounting and financial advisory firm, is to audit the stock market's new computerised system which is due to start on April 24. The Jakarta stock market has postponed the

computerised trading system several times in the past due to technical and other problems. Trading is still done manually at present.

● Edited by John Pitt. Further coverage of emerging markets appears daily on the World Stock Markets page.

## CURRENCIES

## Markets continue dollar vigil

Market sentiment towards the dollar remains very pessimistic. Increasingly, though, investors and traders are beginning to wonder whether the US currency might be nearing a bottom.

Trying to call this turn is currently the major preoccupation on the foreign exchanges. More than ever, it means paying attention to the pronouncements of bankers and politicians across the globe.

Foremost in the market's mind will be whether, as widely anticipated, the Bank of Japan decides to cut the offi-

cial discount rate. This should provide some support for the dollar, but it is unlikely to reverse its decline, which reflects deeper structural problems than short-term interest rate differentials.

Standing in the way of any bounce in the dollar, however, are at least two problems.

The first is the belief in the market that US authorities, if not actively willing a weaker currency, are largely indifferent to it.

And the second is the view that the dollar is weak because of fundamental problems. To

address these requires political will; it is beyond the purview of monetary policy and central bankers, who can really only offer palliatives.

A spell of range-trading may well be in store for the US currency.

On the one hand, the market is not so short that there can't be further dollar selling. On the other, the prospect of central bank support is preventing investors from selling the dollar aggressively.

Aiding this tendency towards drift is the fact that many of the world's politicians

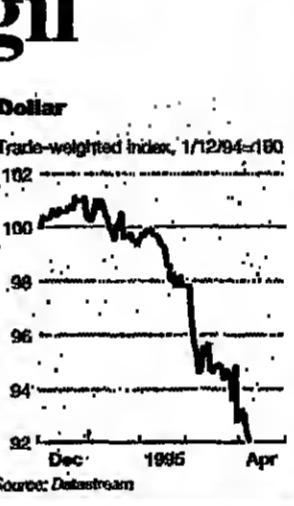
are preparing for an Easter recess, although whether this serves as an incentive to currency speculators is another matter.

In terms of US data releases, the week ahead is a heavy one: consumer and producer inflation, retail sales and industrial production. But their implications for the dollar appear limited since it is not responding to moves in short-term interest rates.

The market is left waiting for the unexpected event which can help turn sentiment in the US currency's favour.

## Philip Gaynor

Source: Datastream



## Baring Securities emerging markets indices

Index	7/4/95	Week on week movement	Month on month movement	Year to date movement
	Actual	Percent	Actual	Percent
World (353)	137.09	+3.19	+2.38	+12.50
Latin America	78.52	+0.18	+0.23	+20.31
Brazil (23)	152.79	+3.85	+14.36	+10.37
Bolivia (13)	206.31	+10.68	+5.46	+28.35
Chile (25)	64.60	+4.79	+8.01	+14.35
Peru (18)	817.33	+116.72	+16.58	+197.23
Latin America (100)	106.95	+4.80	+4.70	+18.02
Europe	102	+3.47	+3.13	+12.67
Greece	91.56	-1.48	-1.59	+2.79
Portugal (23)	127.20	-0.08	-0.56	+4.23
Turkey (22)	115.29	+15.00	+14.95	+34.85
Europe (66)	114.29	+3.47	+3.13	+12.47
Asia	123.19	+0.40	+0.33	-5.58
Korea (24)	135.06	-1.42	-1.04	+3.81
Malaysia (22)	215.04	-2.22	-1.02	+2.82
Pakistan (15)	67.31	+6.03	+7.42	-6.03
Philippines (12)	243.77	+7.52	+3.18	+1.24
Thailand (24)	229.70	-3.86	-1.65	+5.72
Taiwan (22)	189.94	+1.80	+1.07	+1.05
Asia (157)	200.51	-0.46	-0.23	+1.61

All indices in S Yen, January 7th 1995-100. Source: Baring Securities

## Refreshing fares:

AIR CANADA  
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This announcement appears as a matter of record only.

February 1995



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Interest Rate 4.8575% per annum

Interest Period from April 1, 1996 to September 30, 1996

Interest Payment Date October 15, 1996

Interest Rate 4.8575% per annum

Interest Period from April 1, 1997 to September 30, 1997

Interest Payment Date October 15, 1997

Interest Rate 4.8575% per annum

Interest Period from April 1, 1998 to September 30, 1998

Interest Payment Date October 15, 1998

Interest Rate 4.8575% per annum

Interest Period from April 1, 1999 to September 30, 1999

Interest Payment Date October 15, 1999

Interest Rate 4.8575% per annum

Interest Period from April 1, 2000 to September 30, 2000

Interest Payment Date October 15, 2000

## NEW YORK

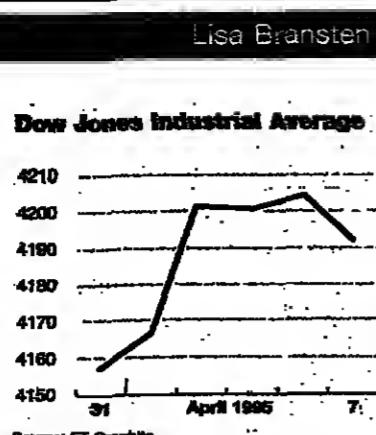
## Results should confirm the soft landing

For weeks, investors have made their stock market wagers based on assumptions about the possibility of a soft landing and the effect such a development might have on corporate profits. This week, at last, there will be some hard numbers to put behind all the speculation as companies begin to report earnings.

Economic data released since the start of the year point to a relatively strong first quarter, with the impact of last year's interest rate increases to be felt later this year. Analysts mostly expect earnings reports to bolster the economy.

This week will also see a spate of economic data. Figures on capacity utilisation and industrial production are expected to add to the growing conventional wisdom that holds that the economy is slowing.

Economists believe March capacity utilisation will decline to 85.5 per cent



Lisa Bransten

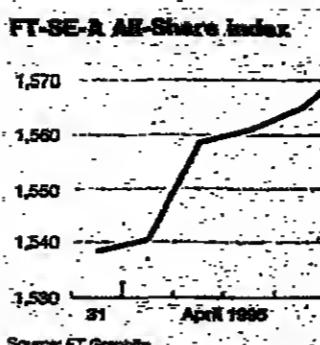
## LONDON

## Banking on G3 action to lift the dollar

There is not much sign that the "problems" of the dollar are holding back the international equities which provide the driving forces behind the leading indices across global stock markets. Oil shares, with prices pinned in dollars, have been leading the charge and the FT-SE 100 Share list showed a total return of 3.8 per cent over the first three months of the year, outperforming most global markets, although not Wall Street.

However, the biggest rises in the Footsie have come when markets thought that the G3 countries, Japan, Germany and the US, were planning serious action on the dollar.

Some form of such action seems to be in the wind this week. If nothing happens on this front, then the UK stock market would be "running brave" if it tried to make further progress, says Derivative Securities, the futures Specialist.



Terry Byland

But the FT-SE Mid 250 stocks continue to under-perform significantly - the Index inflicted a small minus return on investors over the March quarter, and continued to lag behind the Footsie 100 last week.

Trading volumes in the non-Footsie stocks have shown signs of improvement, rising to around 60 per cent of daily Seat totals on some days. If the G3 countries plan serious action on the dollar, then the Footsie stocks can hardly fail to benefit. But the FT-SE Mid 250 seems the best two-way bet.

## OTHER MARKETS

## ZURICH

UBS faces some tough questioning when it meets financial analysts on Wednesday, many of whom believe the bank has been stumbling wrong-footed in the long-running row over governance with Mr Martin Ebner's BBI Vision, the investment company that is UBS's largest shareholder.

In the latest twist last week, BBI Vision filed criminal charges against UBS directors, alleging that the bank's purchases of its own shares during last autumn's proxy battle had damaged the bank. UBS dismissed the allegations as entirely without substance.

In Zurich, meanwhile, Bank Julius Baer forecast last week that Swiss shares would drop by a further 5 to 10 per cent following the 6 per cent drop already recorded since the start of this year.

Baer's latest investment report said that the fall so far this year does not take sufficient account of the harm that the Swiss franc's strength is doing to the corporate profit outlook.

The bank estimated that if exchange rates held at current levels until the end of 1995, companies would suffer

currency losses of about 8 per cent. Even if the franc weakened a little later in the year, there would still be substantial exchange rate losses compared with average values in recent years.

Baer removed Swiss registered shares and Holderbergs' bearers from its buy list because both companies have been strongly affected by the currency crisis, and said that its favourite stocks are heavily capitalised financials such as UBS, SBC and Swiss Re.

## PARIS

A busy week for corporate results is in prospect, in spite of the Good Friday holiday. Michelin and Pechiney report tomorrow, L'Oréal on Wednesday and Havas on Thursday.

UBS forecasts a FFr1.17bn profit from Michelin with the improvement largely the result of an increase in sales volumes.

The bank notes that standard valuation criteria suggest that the market is cheap and it has raised its weighting of Spanish stocks in a European portfolio. Its year-end target for the general index is 300, compared with 275 on Friday. The bank adds that political uncertainty has continued to heighten with

## MADRID

The issue price for the current privatisation of almost half of the government's 40.5 per cent stake in Repsol will be set today and is expected to be around Pt23.58, the maximum price already fixed. Last week, the government denied press reports that it planned to sell a further 16 per cent stake in the petroleum company.

ABN-Amro House Govt notes that the market disappointed in the first quarter as a result of dollar weakness and political uncertainty which led to a depreciation, and devaluation, of the peseta and a rise in long-term interest rates.

While these negative factors could persist in the short term, the recovery looks set to be more robust than in other European economies and the firm line taken by the Bank of Spain should ensure that inflation does not rise too far, even after devaluation.

ABN says that standard valuation criteria suggest that the market is cheap and it has raised its weighting of Spanish stocks in a European portfolio. Its year-end target for the general index is 300, compared with 275 on Friday. The bank adds that political uncertainty has continued to heighten with

the appearance of new corruption cases.

While Prime Minister Felipe Gonzales has repeatedly stated that he will not call early elections, he could be prompted to do so by a sound beating of his PSOE socialist party in the regional and local elections next month, or if revelations of corruption escalate.

## AMSTERDAM

Nedlloyd, the Dutch transport group, publishes its 1994 figures on Thursday and expectations are that, due to the impact of restructuring measures, operating profit will have risen, writes John Pitt.

Analysts believe that even with lower sales, the profit could climb from 1993's Ff1.36m to some Ff1.60m. Furthermore, lower interest-bearing debt charged will be significantly lower than in 1993, while an absence of extraordinary items should leave net profit in the black, against a loss of Ff1.12m in 1993.

## MILAN

Another subdued week is in prospect in the run-up to Easter and the regional elections on April 23.

Kleinwort Benson says the political situation has deteriorated to such an extent that investors are avoiding the market altogether. The approval of pension reforms after the local elections could trigger a short-term rally, but thereafter, the uncertain political situation is likely to dominate until general elections are held, probably in the autumn.

## TOKYO

Investors are focused on whether the government's emergency package, due this week, will be able to stop the yen's continued rise, writes Emiko Teraoka.

Although additional fiscal response from the government to help the economy, which will soon feel the effects of the yen's appreciation, is eagerly awaited, there is a danger that the measures will be aimed at providing long-term support rather than boosting investor confidence. If the emergency package contains the usual menu of labour market support measures and tax breaks for capital spending, it could aggravate "the sense of crisis and policy importance", says Barclays de Zoete Wedd in Tokyo.

Compiled by Michael Morgan

## Global share offers

## Conditions ripe for sharp expansion in M&A deals

The graveyard of international equity offerings may be growing by the week but investment bankers have no time to mourn. They are too busy advising clients on alternative ways to raise capital.

It is at times like these that the big integrated investment banks come into their own. Now that one source of funding has dried up, in this case, the stock markets, they quickly switch attention to finding private buyers for assets that companies want to sell off. "The mergers and acquisitions team is certainly getting more air-time these days," says one equity manager at a Swiss bank.

Figures supplied by IFR Securities Data show that the volume of M&A deals has increased at a startling pace

since the middle of last year.

Schweppes' takeover of the Dr Pepper/7-Up companies to name a few.

Most M&A deals have been confined to certain sectors but bankers expect the activity to broaden especially if the current state of primary equity markets persists. Many European companies have plenty of cash, their gearing is relatively low and banks are falling over themselves to lend.

However, some companies are still concentrating on restructuring themselves. Royal Dutch/Shell for example, in order to improve internal productivity.

Others, especially those in the cyclical industries, may lack the confidence to embark on a large acquisition because of concerns that economic growth in Europe may start to slow.

Yet there are several precedents to show that one company's proposed flotation can quickly turn into a full-blown takeover. After all, the idea of selling out, possibly at a small premium to the market price, could be rather tempting to owners of a company who would rather not have to deal with minority shareholders.

A strategic buyer would be prepared to pay a premium over the public market price because of industrial benefits the purchase would produce. This logic does not apply to a fund manager whose priority is to outperform the market.

There have been several headline-grabbing M&A transactions in recent months, Glaxo's takeover of Wellcome, Hoechst's purchase of Marion Merrell Dow and Cadbury to float at 35 per cent of its shares in Australia and New York.

Other offerings resulting in a private sale include Clark Equipment's disposal of its interest in VME, one of the world's largest construction and earthmoving equipment makers to its Swedish partner, Volvo, and Kif Aquitaine's sale of its Texagulf phosphate business to the Polish Corporation of Saskatchewan.

In view of the heavy calendar of equity offerings this year, bankers believe it is likely some will end up as private sales unless a better time returns to the primary market. This means some of the more appetising offerings could be snatched from under the noses of international investors.

If this happens, fund managers will only have themselves to blame. After all, they have a hysterical reaction to signs that the steel industry's cycle was about to turn effectively scuppered the sale of shares in Bohler-Uddeholm, the Austrian speciality steel maker.

M&A activity remained at this level in the first quarter of this year and is expected to remain buoyant during the next three months.

The sorry state of the stock markets and the poor performance of several new equity issues may have turned off international investors, but they have created a favourable environment for companies looking to expand through acquisitions.

"This is the January sale for companies and there are bargains to be had," says a banker at a US house.

With markets setting such a low price on shares, companies wanting to sell would probably do better looking for a trade buyer.

A strategic buyer would be prepared to pay a premium over the public market price because of industrial benefits the purchase would produce.

Take, for example, the news last month that Pearson Television, part of the Pearson group which owns the Financial Times, was buying Grundy Worldwide, the independent television production company, for US\$279m cash. The deal was struck only two weeks after Grundy announced plans to float 35 per cent of its shares in Australia and New York.

Antonia Sharpe

## Notice of Annual General Meeting

Notice is hereby given that the Annual General Meeting of Aktiebolaget SKF will be held at SKF Kristinehamn, Byggelagsgatan 4, Göteborg, Sweden, at 3.30 p.m. on Thursday April 27, 1995.

## Annual General Meeting

## Notice of Attendance

For the right to participate in the meeting, shareholders must be recorded in the shareholders' register kept by the Securities Register Centre (VPC AB) by Thursday April 13, 1995 and must notify the Company before noon on Monday April 24, 1995, preferably in writing, otherwise by telephone, of their intention to attend (AB SKF Group Legal, S-415 00 Göteborg, Sweden Tel +46-31-37 26 52) giving details of name, address, telephone and registered shareholding. Where representation is made by proxy, the proxy form must be sent before the date of the meeting. Shareholders whose names are registered in the name of a trustee through the Trustee Depositary of a bank must have the shares registered temporarily in their own name in order to take part in the meeting. Any such re-registration for the purpose of establishing voting rights shall take place by Thursday April 13, 1995. This means that the shareholder should give notice of his or her intention to the trustee in plenty of time before that date. A re-registration fee will normally be payable to the trustee.

## Agenda

1 Normal company matters  
Matters which according to the Swedish Companies' Act and Articles of Association are to be considered at a general meeting, including presentation of the annual financial report and reports from the auditors as well as consolidated accounts and auditors' reports, decisions regarding matters relating to income statements and balance sheets and Group income statements and balance sheets, freedom from responsibility of the directors of the board and managing director, decisions regarding profit in accordance with the approved balance sheet, as well as the election of board members and auditors.

2 Articles of Association  
The Directors recommend an amendment to § 8 of the Articles of Association whereby the Board of Directors shall consist of a minimum of five and a maximum of ten elected members with a maximum of five deputies. Under the current terms of § 8 of the Articles of Association, the number of elected deputies shall be a minimum of one and a maximum of five.

3 Election of Board Members  
Board members Claes Dahlblom and Anders Sjöberg have declined re-election. Current deputy board members Marcus Wallenberg and Michael Trischow, together with the new Group Chief Executive Peter Augustsson have been proposed as new Board members. The remaining members will be recommended for re-election. The proposal is supported by shareholders who together represent more than 59 % of the votes for the total number of Company shares.

4 Dividends  
The Board of Directors proposes a dividend for the financial year 1994 of 4.40,- SEK per share. It is recommended that shareholders with principal recorded on May 3 be entitled to receive the mid dividend. If this date is accepted by the Annual General Meeting it is expected that the Securities Register Centre will send out notices of payment to recorded shareholders and listed depositaries on May 10, 1995.

Göteborg, April 1995  
Aktiebolaget SKF  
(publ)  
The Board of Directors

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- Interest payment date: July 5th, 1995
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**■ Politics: punching above its weight**  
Page II

**A**tractive though it might have seemed, Burgundy has resisted the temptation to rest on its traditions of wine, cuisine and culture. The region, tucked between France's most important business centres – Paris and Lyons – is striving to develop new sources of growth and investment while seeking to bind itself ever more firmly to a communications and transport hub at the centre of some of Europe's busiest routes.

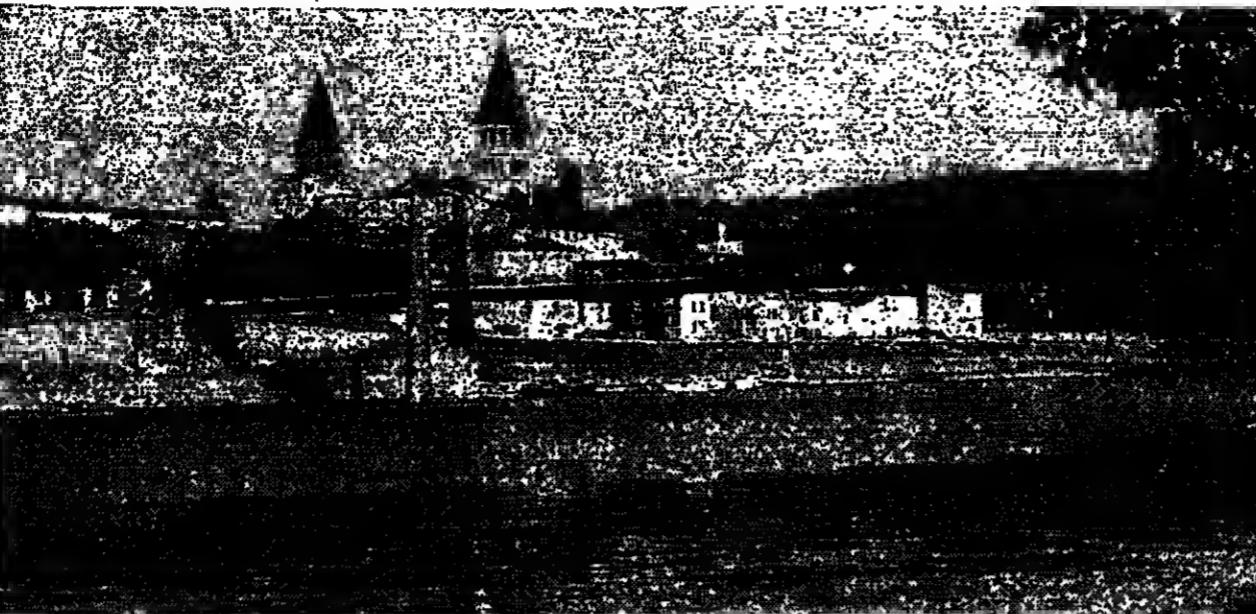
"We are not seeking to shed our traditional image, but to develop new areas of strength," says Mr Jean-François Bezin, head of the Burgundy regional council and one of the driving forces behind Vallée d'Image, a project to promote industries and activities ranging from photography to electronics and multimedia. Other poles of development include packaging, plastics, logistics, agro-industry and automotive.

The region already has a diversified economic and industrial base. Despite the strength of its image in wine and culture, Burgundy was one of France's first metalworking centres, partly because of its resources of wood fuel and minerals. The wine sector, while vital to the economy, ranks only fifth or sixth in terms of employment and output in the region. Three times as much land is used for vegetable oil production as for vineyards.

Such diversity has been a source of strength over the past few years. "It is one of the reasons why the recession hit Burgundy less hard than other areas of France," says Prof Jacky Perrin, director of the regional economic institute at Dijon University. This helped Burgundy overcome the recent crisis in the wine industry, which saw prices fall by more than 20 per cent for some producers between 1991 and 1992.

A recovery since the second half of last year has provided a much-needed boost to the sector.

There have been other setbacks. The 1992 bankruptcy of Le Creusot, the metals, arms and foundry giant, dealt a seri-



Nevers, the main city of La Nièvre

## A bit of mustard for the regional recipe

Rather than rest on its laurels, the region is garnering its forces to seek new sources of growth and to capitalise on its strategic position while improving co-ordination, writes John Ridding

ous blow to the surrounding area in the Saône et Loire. The 1992 decision by Maytag of the US to transfer its Hoover operations from Dijon to Scotland affected fewer jobs, about 650 in total, but had an important psychological effect.

More broadly, there has been a feeling that co-ordination and dynamism have been lacking.

"There have relatively few areas of rapid growth," says Mr Yves Grenot, director of the Dijon operations of Lyonnaise des Eaux and the head of the local banking federation.

There is now a sense, however, that Burgundy is gathering its forces. Mr Dominique Perben, mayor of Chalon-sur-Saône, believes the area has rebounded from the setbacks of plant closures and is bullish on prospects for economic development. On the investment front, the local authorities and their development agencies have recorded several victories. The most recent is a joint

venture agreement, signed last month, between Thomson of France and Fuji of Japan for the production of ferrites for use in consumer electronics.

"We got our revenge on Scotland," jokes one official, referring to the fact that a Scottish site was also under consideration by the Japanese group.

The local authorities in the region's principal towns, from Dijon to Nevers and from Auxerre to Chalon-sur-Saône, are also seeking to target and assist areas of more dynamic development. In most cases, such a stance reflects an attempt to build on the foundations of existing activities through improved co-operation, financial incentives and infrastructure.

In agro-industry, for example, one of Burgundy's biggest economic sectors with 14,000 employees, the local authorities are putting FFr45m towards the initial FFr40m cost of the new plant.

In packaging and logistics,

and flavour research institute.

It is a similar story in the Vallée d'Image project. Burgundy is already home to some of the biggest players in the sectors involved, from Kodak, which has its European R&D headquarters in Chalon-sur-Saône, to Thomson Multimidia, the French electronics group. It is also steeped in tradition in images, having been home to photography pioneers such as Nicéphore Niépce and technological innovations such as the zoom lens.

To foster the development of the sector, however, the local authorities are taking a series of steps. The regional budget will fund research in the field, while potential investors may receive financial incentives.

For example, the LCC division of Thomson, which established the joint venture with Fuji, received a substantial contribution towards the FFr40m cost of the new plant.

In packaging and logistics,

there is also a mix of public sector and private sector initiatives. Burgundy's strength in food and wine has drawn packaging firms such as Cartametalbox and Tetrapak to the region. Suppliers of packaging equipment, such as Cermex, have naturally wanted to be near their clients. Companies in the sector have been further encouraged by Burgundy's transport network, due to be extended next year with the establishment of a bi-modal centre to the south of Dijon which will allow the transfer of containers from lorries to trains.

Across the various projects, local officials reject charges that they are seeking to pick winners. Rather, they claim, they are providing the resources for the expansion of existing sectors. Traditional activities, from wine to beef production, will continue to provide pillars for a more dynamic economy.

But the realisation of such aspirations depends on the ability of Burgundy to respond to broader challenges facing its development, from the spreading of wealth throughout the region to a greater unity between the four departments.

"The administrative entity called Bourgogne is an artificial creation," says Mr Claude Patrie, professor of politics at Dijon University. He argues that the four departments, joined as one administrative region by a 1959 decree, retain different characteristics and identities, an argument illustrated by the fact that each has its own daily newspaper.

The diversity extends to the realm of politics. Whereas La Nièvre, to the east of the region, has traditionally been under the sway of the left, providing a power base for the Socialist President François Mitterrand, other departments, notably the Côte d'Or, have been dominated by the right.

More significantly, the various departments are pulled in different directions. "Yonne looks to the north and to Paris," says Mr Patrie. "The Saône et Loire looks to Lyons."

The result is that it is hard to forge a common interest or a common strategy. For La Nièvre, for example, a priority is a north-south highway to place Nevers, its capital, on a valuable transport axis. Mention of a cross-region link to Dijon, necessary to bind the region, brings a tepid response from local officials.

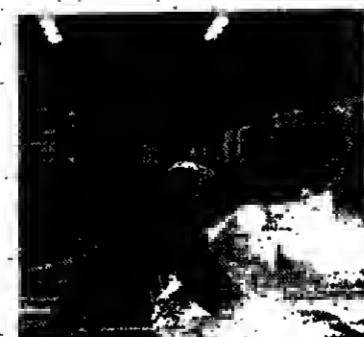
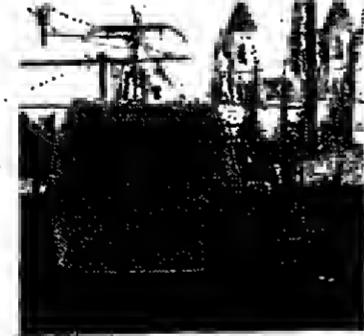
For the region as a whole, a further obstacle is its position between Paris and Lyons. "In some respects, the proximity of these cities is detrimental for Dijon," says Mr Grenot of Lyonnaise de Banque. He argues that clients can often be treated by the larger financial centres of Paris and Lyons.

Local political leaders accept that there are some areas of concern. "We must have closer

## Dates of destiny

1. AD 581	Birth of Kingdom of Burgundy, covering a large swathe of what is now eastern France.
2. 771	Kingdom annexed by Charlemagne.
3. End of ninth century	Richard le Justicier establishes the Duchy of Burgundy.
4. 1031	Robert the First, Duke of Burgundy, founds the Capetian house of Burgundy.
5. 1352	Foundation of parliament of Burgundy.
6. 1361	Death of Philip de Rouvres, last Capetian Duke. Duchy passes to Kingdom of France. Start of Valois house of Burgundy.
7. 1407	Jean Sans Peur, (John the Fearless) Duke of Burgundy, launches fight for political independence of Burgundy.
8. 1419	Philippe le Bon (Philip the Good) becomes duke of Burgundy. Through inheritance and acquisition he extends the duchy to cover Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg and Lorraine. Killed in 1477 at siege of Nancy.
9. 1482	Duchy returns definitively to French kingdom.
10. 1592	End of Spanish invasion as part of Wars of Religion.
11. 1789	French Revolution. Creation of four departments. Côte d'Or, Yonne, Saône et Loire, and La Nièvre.
12. Nineteenth century	Industrial revolution creates industrial centres at Dijon, Chalon sur Saône, Le Creusot becomes one of Europe's major metallurgy centres.
13. 1959	Creation of region combining the four departments.

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## BURGUNDY II

**John Ridding on the significance of the local political scene**

## Punching above its weight

**S**ince the days of its famous dukes, the significance of Burgundy politics has tended to reach well beyond the region's borders. Recent years have proved no exception. "It still punches above its weight," says one local pundit.

There are two reasons for this influence. On the one hand, the region has continued to provide a power base for several of France's leading postwar politicians. On the other, the diverse political complexion of Burgundy's four departments provide a reliable bellwether for national political trends.

**L**ike the powerful dukes that once held sway within its borders, Burgundy is strong on connections. Located in the valley which runs from northern to southern Europe, and close to the border between France and its eastern continental neighbours, the region has long benefited from its strategic position at the crossroads of Europe's transport links and between its major powers.

"Location has always been one of the trump cards of the region," says Mr Yves Jaiot, vice-president in charge of economic development at the Burgundy regional council. "Ever since the Romans, we have been at the centre of Europe's cultural and economic activity," adds a

Nowadays, this position is cemented by a web of road, rail and river links which bind the region to the centre of the European transport and business network. As trans-European trade continues to expand in the wake of the collapse of communism and the creation of a single European market,

Both factors can be seen, for example, in the rise of President François Mitterrand and the Socialist leader planted himself in La Nièvre, the left-leaning department to the east of the region. As mayor of Château-Chinon, deputy for the same area and one-time leader of the Conseil Général, the administrative body for the department, he amassed considerable clout.

During Mr Mitterrand's tenure, the left extended its influence in other areas of Burgundy. Mr Pierre Joxe, for instance, the former defence and interior minister, was

president of the regional council between 1979 and 1982. Mr Pierre Bérégovoy, the late Socialist prime minister, was parachuted in as mayor of Nevers. "The swing to the Socialists at the national level was clearly demonstrated in Burgundy," says Mr Claude Patriat, professor of politics at Dijon University.

In recent years, the swing has been in the other direction. Two of the three deputies from La Nièvre are from the right,

while the conservatives have strengthened their hold of strate gic municipal offices. Mr Dominique Perben, the mayor of Chalon sur Saône, is a minister in the centre-right government of Mr Edouard Balladur, while Mr Robert Poujade, a minister under the Gaullist President George Pompidou, has maintained his grip on Dijon, the regional capital.

The drift to the right is also reflected in the shifting allegiances of Mr Jean-Pierre Soissons, the mayor of Auxerre,

son, the mayor of Auxerre who served as a minister under Presidents Mitterrand and the centrist President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and who has just declared his support for Mr Jacques Chirac, the Gaullist mayor of Paris and the leading candidate for this month's presidential election.

The rise of the right has not removed divisions in local politics, but merely shifted their focus. Many of Burgundy's mayors and deputies have

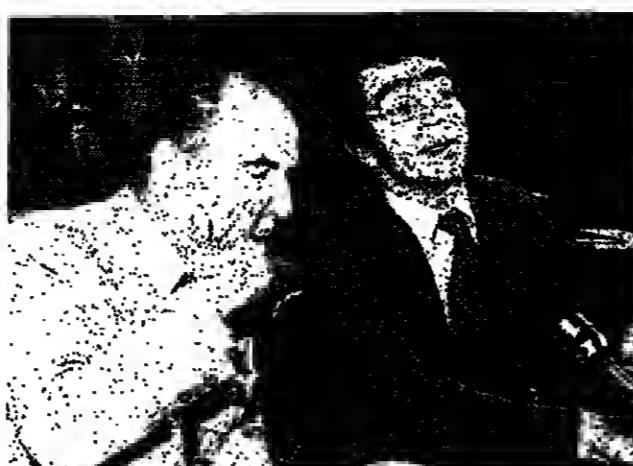
declared their support for Mr Balladur's presidential bid, notably Mr Poujade and Mr Perben. Exceptions, apart from Mr Soissons, include Mr Jean-François Bazin, the president of the regional council and a Chirac supporter.

With Mr Chirac having established a clear lead in opinion polls, such allegiances suggest the presidential elections may reverberate through the Burgundy region. "It could create pressures for a reshuffle

of the cards," says one observer. "Many incumbents will not be sitting comfortably right now."

For most observers, however, the impact of a Chirac victory on Burgundy politics will be limited by several factors: the gap between local and national politics, the short time period of one month between the presidential and municipal elections and the prospect of a Gaullist regrouping after the divisive campaign.

"There may be a few victims, a few sacrifices to the electoral battle, but the Gaullists tend to patch things up after battle," says one politics professor. "A lot will depend on the final stages on the campaign, and whether the victor, probably Mr Chirac, will open his arms to his opponents. Either way, be it peace or war in the Gaullist camp, the drama of the national stage should again be reprised in the elected offices of Burgundy.



Burgundy socialists François Mitterrand (left) and Pierre Joxe in 1981



Dominique Perben, mayor of Chalon sur Saône



Jean-Pierre Soissons, mayor of Auxerre



Jean-François Bazin, president of the Burgundy Regional Council



Robert Poujade, mayor of Dijon

Transport links: at the crossroads of Europe, the region has a strategic position

## The gaps in the good connections

The region's top ten employment sectors		
	Employees	% share (Burgundy)
		% share (France)
Mechanical manufacturing	18,276	13.3
Electronics	15,880	11.6
Metallurgy	14,452	10.5
Agro-industry	14,018	10.2
Rubber and plastics	11,229	8.2
Wood, furniture	10,168	7.4
Motor industry	8,702	6.4
Steel	8,585	6.3
Textiles, clothes	8,368	6.1
Chemicals	8,130	4.5

Source: Atosa

such a position entails clear economic benefits for Burgundy. The big question for the future is how to capitalise on the opportunities and whether Burgundy's communications links are solid enough to ensure that the benefits continue to flow.

The response from local officials and industrialists is

one of optimism. "Overall, we have a very strong and strategic transport network," says Mr Robert Poujade, mayor of Dijon. But he admits that work remains to be done. "There are some gaps which need to be filled."

On the first count, the statistics support the claims of a strong existing com-

munications hub. Burgundy has more than 500 km of autoroutes, placing it among the top quarter of France's 20 regions in terms of motorway coverage. More significant is the positioning of the autoroutes which link Paris and northern Europe to Lyons, the south and the east of the continent.

On the railway network, Dijon is served by the high-speed Train à Grande Vitesse from Paris, shrinking the journey between the regional and national capital to less than two hours. As for river communications, the Saône to the south of the region links Burgundy to both the Rhine and the Rhône and, hence, in theory, to the Mediterranean and the North Sea.

Such communications links have brought obvious benefits. Companies such as Kodak and many transportation groups

have been drawn by the region's logistical advantages. "Increasingly there is a need to co-ordinate shipments between the various European markets," says the manager of one electronics firm with a plant in Burgundy. "So you need somewhere central with a reliable system of roads and

rail." The manager of a road haulage company agrees. "It is a logical base for continental European operations. Most regular destinations are within striking distance of Dijon."

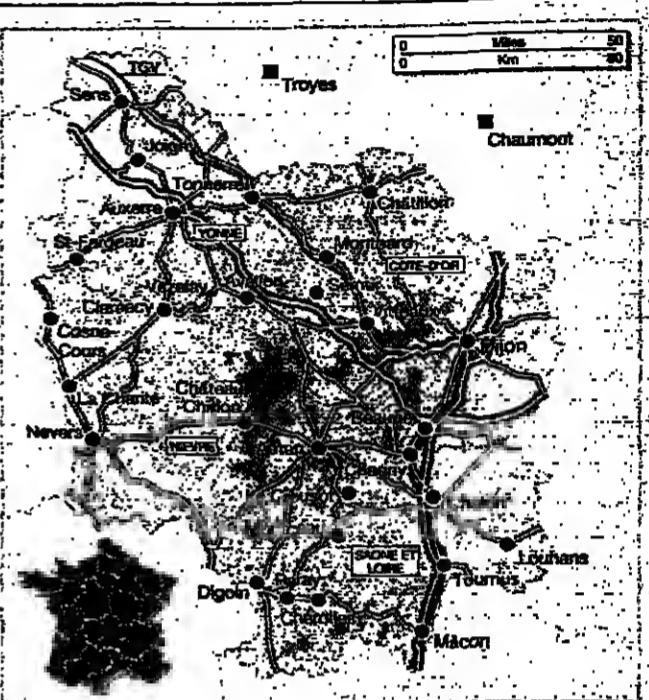
Steps are being taken to further extend this strike range and strengthen Burgundy's transport links. From next year a bimodal rail

and road container facility is due to operate from the south of Dijon.

Agreement has been reached at government level to build a high speed rail link from Mulhouse to Dijon, opening up a high-traffic market from the regional capital to southern Germany and Switzerland. The line, which will cost an estimated FF12bn, is expected to be built within 10 years.

But despite such new strands in the communications web, weaknesses remain. "The real preoccupation is the east-west axis," says Mr Paul Schmitt, director for territorial management at the regional council. "There is tremendous potential for traffic from Germany and eastern Europe across to the Atlantic but the infrastructure does not yet exist."

There is some movement to resolve this problem. An autoroute between Auxerre, to



the north of Burgundy, and Bourges is in the works. But this is only a relatively short step and is not expected to be completed for 10 or 12 years. Pressure on the state and regional budgets prevents a more rapid pace, as do environmental considerations relating to the construction of a new swathe of highways.

Another weak link is to be found in the region's waterways. Substantial freight along the Rhine and the Rhône is blocked by the lack of an adequate link between the two mighty rivers. It is possible for freight to travel from one to the other, but it involves transferring to small barges of about 250 tonnes of capacity for a 250 km stretch to the north of Chalon sur Saône. "This is not economical," says Mr Jean-Claude Bacque-Mouret, managing director of Apropot, the Chalon-based group which is France's second largest river ports association.

Mr Bacque-Mouret, like many in the region, dreams of a project to link the Rhine and the Rhône more effectively and to allow large barges to complete the journey from Marseilles to the mouth of the Rhine. He points to significant benefits, including costs. At the moment, for example, his company charges between FF1,500 and FF1,800 per container for the journey between Chalon and Marseilles. By road, the cost is between FF2,800 and FF3,200.

Of late the dream has taken a few steps towards reality. Last year the French parliament passed a law approving the construction of the Rhine-Rhône canal and setting a deadline of 10 years for the link to be built. The cost, estimated at about FF17bn, is due to be shouldered by state enterprises such as Électricité de France and Compagnie Nationale du Rhône. "It is a significant step because it is the first time that a system for financing has been established," says Mr Dominique Perben, mayor of Chalon sur Saône.

The scale of the funds involved, opposition from environmental groups and the long history of frustration over the project suggest, however, that caution should remain the order of the day. The law passed by the French National Assembly still lacks the *décret d'application* which would put the decision into force. The barge captains of Burgundy still have plenty of time to plot their course.

John Ridding

### THE FOUR DEPARTMENTS

## Diversity is common denominator

Like the mosaic roofs on traditional Burgundy buildings, the region is itself a patchwork of diverse components. "There is no uniformity, nor a single identity in La Nièvre," says Mr Claude Patriat, professor of politics at Dijon University.

The most obvious cleavage is to be found between the four departments which comprise the region - the Côte d'Or, the Yonne, La Nièvre and the Saône et Loire. Joined as one administrative region by a decree of 1989, the departments retain significant particularities, from their daily newspapers - one for each of the four - to their geography, and from their political and economic traditions to their aspirations for future development.

The Morvan hills, which run from the north to the south and splice La Nièvre from the

Saône et Loire and the Côte d'Or, represent an obvious geological frontier.

"We are a bit like the wild west," jokes Mr Yves Jaiot, the representative of the industry ministry for the Nièvre region to the east of Burgundy. Political sympathies and

traditions also vary across the departments, as do their industrial structures. The industrial centres of the northern Yonne and Chalon sur Saône, home to some of the region's biggest manufacturing plants, strike a contrast with the vineyards of the Côte d'Or and the rural expanses of La Nièvre, home to the famous Charolais beef herds.

Such divergences do not extend to feuds or hostility. "Bourgognes are by their nature moderate and reasonable," says Mr Robert Poujade, mayor of Dijon. "We have different newspapers and different wines, but it is not something to come to blows about," says one official in Chalon sur Saône.

There is, however, a serious side to the divergences between the departments. "They are all looking in different directions," says Mr Jean-François Bazin, president of the regional

council. The powerful local government body, accepts that there are differences in outlook and ambitions. But he argues that particularities are as common between them and that there are economic forces binding Burgundy together. The departments themselves are certainly a hybrid of rural and industrial centres.

Even La Nièvre, a picturesque area of rolling countryside, is home to a number of significant industrial groups such as Imphy, the metal concern. A short drive from the industrial zones of Chalon sur Saône leads to the vineyards and agricultural districts of the Saône et Loire.

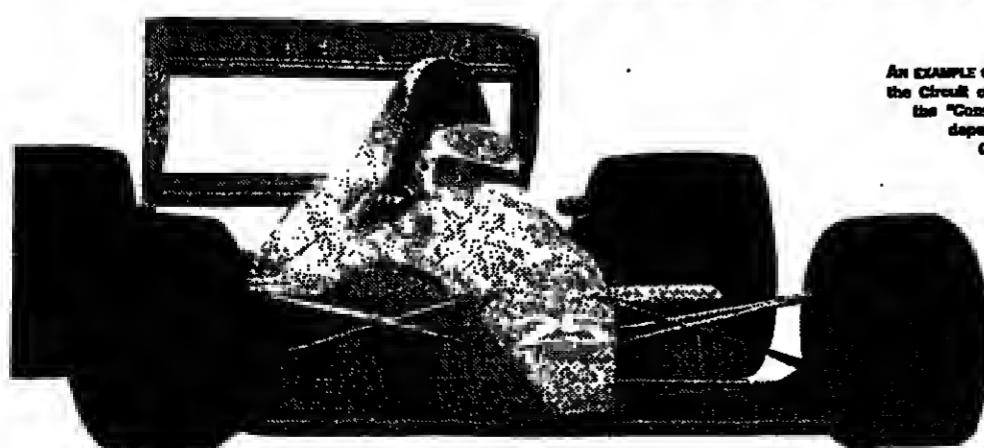
As for common economic objectives, several industrial

sectors are to be found dispersed across the region. Each of the departments has plants connected to the auto and metal working sectors, and all are strong in agriculture. But much needs to be done to bind the region more firmly, particularly in the area of transport.

The drive from Dijon to Nevers takes well over two hours, and is without an autoroute for all but the first part of the journey. But even proposals for an east-west motorway prompt a divided response. "Our priority is have an autoroute linking north and south through Moulins," says one Nièvre official. "There is much less demand in the direction of Dijon."

John Ridding

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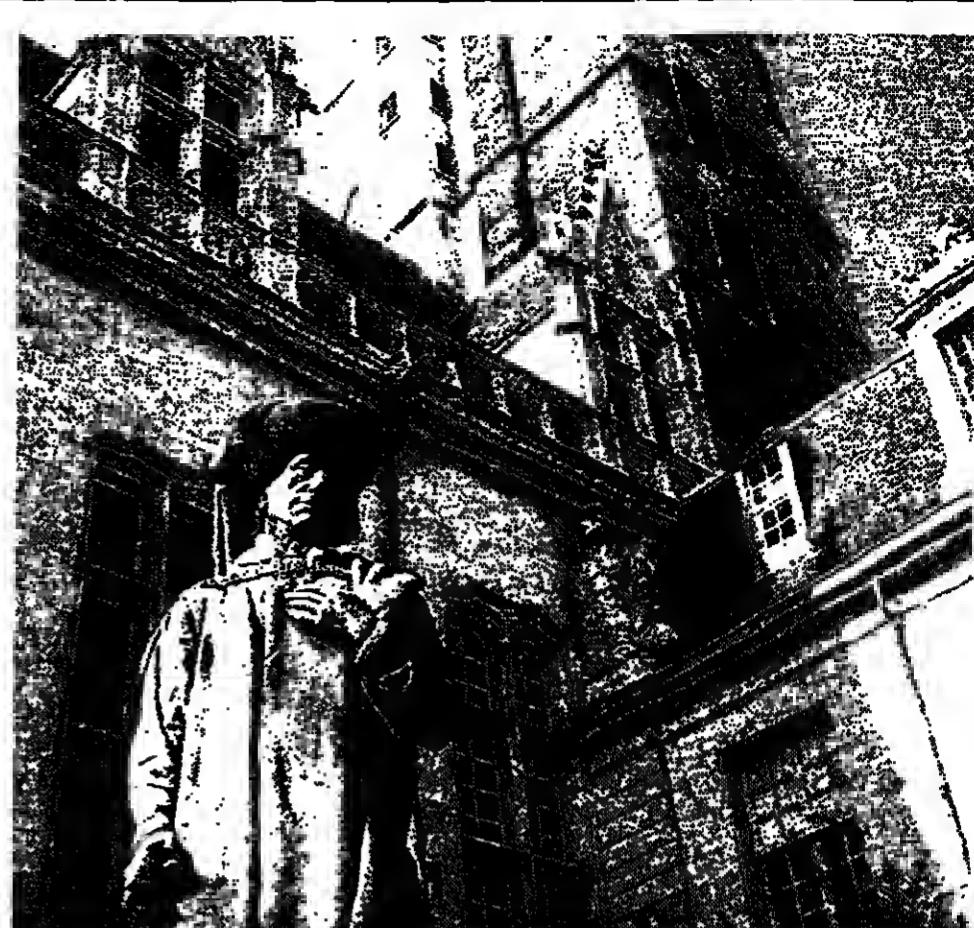
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JOHN RIDDING

## BURGUNDY III



The 15th century Hotel-Dieu founded by Nicholas Rolin and his wife to provide for the needy of Beaune after the 100 Years' War and [right] Dijon, the region's biggest town by far



Why the US photographic giant set up in the home of 19th century film pioneers

**Incentives brought Kodak to Chalon**

**I**t is fitting that Kodak, the US film and photographic giant, should be firmly installed in Chalon-sur-Saône. The town, on the banks of the Saône river to the south-east of the Burgundy region, was home to 19th century photography and film pioneers such as Nicéphore Niépce.

For Kodak, however, it was hard-headed business considerations rather than romantic tradition that underpinned its 1990 decision to build its Chalon plant. "To be frank, the key reason was the financial assistance we received as a result of the French government's policy of promoting decentralisation," says Mr Philippe Cherpion, head of the plant.

Whatever the reasons, the Kodak plant at Chalon has grown into the biggest industrial operation in the region and the largest exporter. It employs 2,600 full-time workers, plus 300 on short-term contracts. Along with a site at Harrow in England, it is Kodak's

principal, and most modern, plant in Europe. Dozens of millions of film rolls leave the factory gates each year, contributing to total annual production in billions of francs.

But the significance of the Chalon plant extends beyond the revenues and production it brings for the US film and photography giant. Kodak's presence reflects the strategic incentives for many of the foreign and French investors in Burgundy. It also represents a significant element in the region's aspirations in the imaging, electronics and cultural fields.

On the first count, it was geographical considerations which helped tip the decision towards Chalon rather than other potential sites, such as

Montpellier. "It is an important strategic location," says Mr Cherpion. "We are on a big network of autoroutes which puts us in reach of all of our principal European markets from Spain to Germany and from Belgium to Italy." Available labour, and an abundant supply of water, were other important factors.

Such considerations apply not only to Kodak. Many of the large industrial groups with operations in the region, from Phillips of the Netherlands to Thomson of France, are drawn to the communications network. "It is an increasingly important consideration, given that many industries, particularly consumer industries, have to be close to the client and also in a position to

serve several European markets," says the managing director of one foreign electronics group.

Within the boundaries of Burgundy, the presence of Kodak lends weight to the region's strategy of strengthening its position as a European centre for the imaging, visual and photographic industries.

Dubbed Vallée d'image, this strategy comprises initiatives and funding to promote R&D and investment in the various activities and to foster links between the players in the sector and the region's universities and educational centres. Kodak, for example, already cooperates with Dijon University in training its workforce and also participates in cultural

projects such as this year's celebrations to commemorate the centenary of cinema.

More broadly, the size of the Kodak operation means that its success is central to the health of the local economy. "A big company is welcome, but it can also entail big risks," says one local Chalon official, referring to the 1984 bankruptcy of Creusot-Loire, the metal and engineering giant in the nearby town of Le Creusot.

At Kodak, however, there seems little cause for concern. A restructuring and productivity programme, launched over the past few years, has prompted a significant improvement in efficiency. In 1993 wa were about 20 per cent less productive than the big US

plants," says Mr Cherpion. "Now we have caught up, and expect to achieve faster productivity growth." Reduced waste, lower stocks, and a shift to team-based production are the reasons he cites for the improvement.

So, too, is the trend in production. "We are near saturation in most sectors," says the Kodak executive. "In the years to come we may have to increase capacity."

There can be hiccups. This month, Kodak became the latest company to be hit by a spate of strikes in France as unions seek to press demands for higher wage claims. "With presidential elections looming and with Kodak being such a big employer, it is perhaps not surprising that unions will test their strength there," says one

industry analyst.

Generally, however, Kodak's relations with the workforce and the community have strengthened. Also on the rise are the company's contacts with the region and the local community. "Until five or so years ago the company was draped in splendid isolation," says Mr Cherpion. "We were, I admit, a bit arrogant." Since then, the barriers have been falling. A communications drive, factory visits and support for local arts and cultural events have anchored the US group more firmly in the community.

The transformation has been noticed. "It is true, they are more open and more active than they used to be," says one local official. "That is as it should be because they are the biggest employer in the region." In his mind, however, what matters most for Chalon and its environs is that the films keep rolling out of the Kodak factory gates.

John Riddings

**MOTOR-RACING****Make or break time on the Magny-Cours circuit**

The whine of Formula 1 racing cars at the Magny-Cours circuit sounds incongruous against the backdrop of the quiet countryside of La Nièvre, one of the more rural of Burgundy's four administrative departments.

For many observers, the circuit and the surrounding commercial zone is itself an oddity. Ever since the decision was taken in the mid-1980s to create a state-of-the-art F1 track and a business centre, critics have attacked the project as a white elephant and a waste of the FF1300m which was pumped into the scheme.

Its defenders, from the department administration which championed the project to the companies installed on the site, point to the 400 jobs that have been created and to the potential to develop a centre of automotive research and engineering. They claim that the investment in the site provides evidence of a dynamic

industrial policy in the region and an important step in attempts to expand a local automotive sector which already includes tyre manufacturers and components groups.

Despite such divergent views, however, there is a consensus that the next few years will be critical for the project. "Make or break time is looming," says one Burgundy politician, expressing a common sentiment.

Most immediate and most crucial is the decision on whether to award Magny-Cours the next tranche of France's F1 grand prix. The current five-year contract will expire when the chequered flag falls in the July 1996 contest. By then, the decision will have been made about where the next series of races will be held.

The stakes are very high. Of the 400,000 visitors to Magny-Cours last year, 75,000 came to watch the French F1 grand prix. The Holiday Inn, built on

the Magny-Cours site as part of the development, receives about 10 per cent of its annual revenues during the big race period.

More broadly, the award of the grand prix is seen as vital by the businesses operating around the Magny-Cours circuit. "It is important for the

credibility of the site," says an executive of Danielson, a supplier of equipment for the motor sport industry.

But if the decision by the French and international motor authorities is vital, so too are attempts by the circuit's management to extend its appeal to new businesses and broaden its scope as a leisure centre.

On the first count, the site has achieved some success. The decision by the Liger racing team to base its operations at Magny-Cours has brought about 130 jobs. But the range and number of businesses have remained relatively limited. "There is no question about its success as a top racing circuit," says one economic official in Nevers, "but in terms of attracting businesses the results have been more mixed."

Mr Marcel Charmant, a socialist senator and head of Sied, the local development agency which has managed the Magny-Cours project, accepts that the activity around the site has not matched initial expectations. Part of the reason, he argues, is the recession which struck France in 1992 and 1993. "It was not the best time for new investments here or anywhere else," he says.

For Mr Charmant, the response has been to "re-launch the dynamics" of the site. In addition to prospecting for companies, from the automobile sector but also from related activities such as materials development and marketing, the local authorities are improving the research and development facilities in the vicinity. In particular, the city of Nevers last month inaugurated Isat, an engineering school which

will train 40 students a year in mechanics and related subjects.

Magny-Cours is also seeking to expand its appeal through the development of new leisure activities. "Our target is to draw 1m visitors a year," says Mr Charmant. To do this, the circuit has built a motor car racing track and is planning an automobile museum.

All this, of course, costs money. The museum, due to open next year, represents an additional investment of about FF40m by the Conseil Général, the government authority for the department. For Mr Charmant and for other local officials, it is necessary to broaden the appeal of the centre and to ensure revenues should the worst come to the worst in the grand prix awards. In so doing, however, it raises the stakes at Magny-Cours still further.

John Riddings

**T**he first rule of the packaging industry, according to the chairman of one of the biggest companies in the sector, is to be where your clients are. "It has become less and less possible to serve them at a distance," he says. "You have to co-operate on design and new products and to save on transport costs."

Hence, it should come as little surprise that most of the big names in the packaging business should be found in Burgundy. The region's strength in the agro-industrial sector and in wine and beverages has prompted CarnaudMetalbox, Tetrapak, Rical and many others to set up shop in the region.

The presence of such food giants as Danone and Nestlé and of several pharmaceuticals concerns is, however, not the only factor behind the development of a packaging sector which now counts more than 8,000 employees. The existence of chemicals and plastics producers has facilitated sourcing and the supply of packaging materials while the autoroute network provides a strong distribution system in the region.

"There is a tradition of expertise in materials and in mechanisation," says Mr Jean-Luc Giraud, the head of the Dijon plant of Rical. "We

are close to our customers and the geographical situation is an advantage, he says. A counterpart at another packaging concern concurs.

"The environment is conducive," he says.

The economic environment, however, has been less conducive over the past few years. Recession in France and in other continental European

worst has now been left behind. Although French consumer demand remains fragile, it does appear to have stabilised. Exports, meanwhile, have provided a strong source of growth.

The markets are more encouraging than for several years," says one packaging executive. "That and the rise of new products and methods of

packaging suggests that the industry is in a growth phase."

Such new products range from discrete innovations, such as a simple stopper for oil products, developed jointly by Rical and Tetrapak, to broader concepts such as wrap-around packaging. As for the change in methods, it involves a fundamental shift in the way that companies in the sector are organising themselves. "Think

of where the car industry was 25 years ago and the techniques which have been introduced since. That's now happening in packaging."

markets between 1991 and 1993 prompted a fall in demand and a rise in competition between the various players in the sector. "Volumes have been reduced, but margins have suffered," says Mr Giraud. He argues that the pressure on food producers from the impact of recession and the rise of own-brand and discount rivals has intensified competition along the industry chain.

For most in the sector, the

shift to team-based manufacturing and stock control techniques which have been introduced since," says one senior executive. "That is what is happening now in the packaging sector."

The shift in production techniques and the introduction of new products is good news for suppliers of packaging equipment. Cemex, for example, a local packaging and equipment manufacturer, has resisted the vagaries of the market and has capitalised on the shift towards more productive manufacturing methods. "More and more, there is a connection between packaging and its production and that works to our benefit," says Mr Bernard Broye, general manager.

For many in the sector, however, it is a painful adjustment. "At the end of the day, the drive towards increased productivity involves two certainities: a wrench in the way things have been done traditionally and fewer people on the factory floor," says the director of one European packaging director. But, as he accepts, there is no choice. "Either the companies here and in other centres of the industry push ahead with the process or they lose out. Ultimately, the failure to act will be much more painful."

John Riddings

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## BURGUNDY IV

Vintage struggle: the region is concentrating on quality to fight off competition, David Buchan writes

## Wine industry overcomes a bad patch



The splendid surroundings of the Chateau de Clos Vougeot

At last month's auction conducted by the Hospices des Nuits-Saint-Georges, everyone had hoped for something better than the eventual outcome of a 1.38 per cent decline in the average price bid for some of Burgundy's best.

The outcome was perhaps even slightly disappointing for Mr Takekazu Kawamura, a senior Japanese diplomat invited to sit at the top table among the local dignitaries in recognition of his country's growing interest in Burgundy wines. In addition to the bulk of the wine auctioned off to fund local social work was a lot sold for victims of the recent Kobe earthquake.

But the Nuits-Saint-Georges auction, held in the splendid surroundings of the Chateau de Clos Vougeot, was a reminder that these occasions have as much to do with wine tourism as with providing an accurate leading indicator of the market for Burgundy wine. The fact that the Nuits-Saint-Georges auction prices this year were slightly lower than in 1993 provides as inaccurate a guide to Burgundy wines prices as the astonishing 33 per cent increase recorded at last November's even better known Beaune auction.

Happily, the reality for Burgundy's nearly 6,000 viticulteurs is more stable, and tending towards recovery. According to Mr Christophe

Denoel of the Bureau Interprofessionnel des Vins de Bourgogne (BIVB), the region's 1994 harvest is selling at prices that are 10-15 per cent higher than for the 1993 vintage. Hosting a reworking back in Nuits-Saint-Georges, on the same day as the Clos Vougeot auction, Mr Albert Jaffin, president of

the local vintners' union, was anything but gloomy about the 1994 vintage. Likewise, the previous decline in market prices was nothing like as drastic as the four successive falls of more than 20 per cent in the annual Beaune auctions over the 1990-93 period would have indicated.

Nonetheless, Burgundy has come through a bad patch. After strong demand in the 1980s bid prices up excessively, the regional wine industry hit a number of problems in the early 1990s. The Gulf War of 1991 and sporadic US action to penalise European wine exports at various points dur-

ing the long Gatt negotiations led to a decline in foreign demand, while the French recession of 1992-93 squeezed domestic consumption. A new law banning most advertising of alcohol has also restricted efforts to boost domestic demand.

This legislation probably affects lower grade wines more than Burgundy vintages which are well established with French oenophiles. But the very complexity of Burgundy wines is a handicap, Mr Denoel believes, particularly abroad where "new consumers - the young especially - find it hard to pick their way through the multitude of Burgundy producers whose labels often do not state what sort of grapes their wines are made of. They often prefer to choose something simpler from South Africa or Chile."

For the break-up, at the time of the French Revolution, of the religious and baronial establishments that dominated Burgundian winemaking meant that Burgundy has far fewer large holdings than in the Bordeaux region, less than 10 per cent of Burgundy vine-

yards are more than 10 hectares in size, and many of these are scattered in several parcels of land. Burgundy also has a large number - 120 at present - of negociants, involved in growing, bottling and selling their own and others' wines, who handle nearly three-quarters of the region's output.

A generation ago, Burgundy was primarily known for its distinctively heavy and strong red wines, preferred by French consumers and those with the same drinking preferences in Belgium and Switzerland; the latter is a special case, because it produces quite a lot of white wine which is well protected from imports, but relatively little red. The big change in the past 25 years has been increased production of light whites, such as Chablis from the Yonne, and heavier Chardonnay and Aligoté whites from Burgundy south chiefly for export to the US, followed by the UK and Germany, in fact, today, the whites account for 60 per cent of total Burgundy output, and two-thirds of them are exported, though many also go to restaurants in France where they end up

being downed by foreign tourists.

The upshot is that Burgundy's sales are now divided equally between home and abroad. The BIVB, like so many other western industries, is now targeting Asia. Following the success of both its reds and whites in Japan, Burgundy is now trying to develop a market in Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea and Thailand, as well as China through Hong Kong.

But in addition to the recurrent problem of maintaining market share in the US at a

time when its currency seems to keep depreciating against the franc, there is a new spectre of new draft European Union proposals to bring overall excess wine production into better balance with consumption with a system of national quotas for individual EU countries.

With its relatively small output of 1.2m hectolitres (one hectolitre equals 100 litres), and of total French production of 6.5m hectolitres, Burgundy is strongly opposed to any restrictions and has joined with Bordeaux to lobby Brussels. "Regions that can sell their production, without any EU aid, should not be penalised," says Mr Denoel, pointing out that making Burgundy out of it is not going to help other parts of Europe. "If a Japanese wants to buy a Burgundy and cannot, he is not going to buy a Sicilian red instead, but probably an Australian red," he says.

The key to maintaining Burgundy's niche in the world is quality. Though based in the ancient wine town of Beaune, there is nothing musty about the BIVB laboratory, which smells like a hospital if carries out research into improving homogeneity and therefore reliability in the region's wines, reducing the sulphur dioxide content in its white wines, and finding ways of producing wines with less tanin but with the same ageing qualities. The BIVB imposes compulsory chemical and bacteriological tests for all *opercat* (ready-made) wines, while another body vets wines for their export suitability. "This is self-regulation," says Mr Denoel. "In Burgundy we don't like external controls, either from Brussels or elsewhere."

### ■ THE REGION'S GASTRONOMIC DELIGHTS

## All tastes catered for

Follow Fidel Castro's recent steps into the rolling hills of the Yonne department north of Auxerre, and in the tiny town of Chailly you will come across an enormous chicken processing plant and the headquarters of the Bourgoin group, the world leader in fresh poultry.

It was apparently more out of pleasure than business that Mr Gérard Bourgoin, founder-owner of the FFBS, a year poultry group, invited the controversial Cuban leader to Chailly, Cuba these days has less money to pay for Bourgoin chickens, and indeed since the 1993 Gatt agreement the group has had to cut its EU-subsidised exports and focus more on selling to the rest of Europe.

But by the time he recently decided, at the age of 55, to hand most of the business to his daughter, Corinne, to run, Mr Bourgoin had already put Chailly on the international map. The Bourgoin group is still based in Chailly out of Mr Bourgoin's loyalty to the town where his father was the butcher and to the region where he sponsors Auxerre's rated football team. But like much of the French meat business, Bourgoin now has most of its rearing, slaughtering and processing plants near Atlantic and Mediterranean ports, handy for importing feed and exporting processed poultry.

The association in the public mind of Burgundy with taste and flavour, however, still draws many food companies to the region. Its food industry employs more than 14,000 people directly and another 100,000 indirectly, while Dijon is shortly set to attract further hi-tech research into food with the creation of the European Centre of the Science of Taste. Some of the companies are completely unknown to the public. One example is International Flavors and Fragrances, a US company and world leader in putting tastes and smells into what we eat.

"Our clients are not the likes of Carrefour, but of Danone," says Mr Thierry Guyard, manager of IFF's Dijon plant, which makes no fewer than 2,500 different aromas for different clients. IFF moved its French operation from Paris to

Dijon in 1962, originally because it wanted the region's red fruit to make concentrate. Even though it no longer makes fruit concentrates, and many of its French clients have moved west, IFF has stayed to capitalise on the region's culinary know-how. It has even taken over part of the nearby premises recently vacated by Hoover.

A newer example of a "professional" food company is Euromerger, founded by an enthusiastic young biologist, Mr Jean-Philippe Girard, in 1989 on a bank loan. Its speciality is helping cereal companies with the taste and texture of their products, and it now has some 400 clients in France and abroad, including a leading UK group for which it is trying to develop a natural preservative.

"We chose Dijon, because it is known for its gastronomy and rapid identification is important in the market, because it has good communications and because France is Europe's wheat belt," says Mr Girard.

In contrast, Amora is a household name, at least in France where its little jars of mustard, condiments, spices, mayonnaise, and ketchup containers are in 30 per cent of the country's kitchens. In contrast also to new arrivals such as IFF or Euromerger, Amora has roots in Dijon that go back to the mid-18th century, though it is now part of the Danone group that also owns another Dijon mustard-maker, Maille.

The reason why Dijon became famous for its mustard was the growth of mustard seeds and the presence of wine vinegar to mix into them. Curiously, virtually all the mustard grains for Amora (whose name, of course, is simply an anagram of aroma) and other Dijon mustard-makers come these days from the plains of Saskatchewan in Canada, and no longer from Burgundy where in the 1940-50s farmers moved to more profitable crops with prices guaranteed by Brussels. But Amora has now replanted some 250 hectares of Burgundy with mustard for research purposes.

In addition to promoting its historic mustard staple, Amora has high hopes of further expansion for other "convenience" products. It cites, for

Kir, that delicious mix of blackcurrant cassis and white wine, is worth fighting for. Two litigious liqueurists of Dijon have spent long years fighting each other and third parties over Kir and its cassis component, laying in the process nothing less than the legal basis for Europe's single market.

Creme de Cassis, first produced commercially in Dijon, by Jean Baptiste L'Héritier in 1845, has long been in Burgundy to take the rough edge off the region's second-rank Aligoté white wine, in addition to being sometimes drunk by itself by old ladies and poured into cocktails, particularly between the two world wars.

But the mixture of vin blanc and cassis gained its modern name from Canon Félix Kir, a clergyman-politician who was deputy mayor of Dijon from 1945 to his death in 1958. Canon Kir made so much of a

point of serving the mix of these two local products at the mairie that it came to be known as a Kir.

"The name is marketing magic," says Mr Jacques Damidot, president of the Lejay-Lagoute liqueur company, pointing out that "its three letters are pronounced the same way in all languages," just like Baron Bic de Belpoint pen fare.

As early as 1851, a member of the Damidot family had the forethought to ask the canon to let Lejay-Lagoute use his name. The canon gave his written permission. In 1952, the company registered it as a trademark, which took a further three years to be listed in an official journal. On its publication, L'Héritier-Guyot promptly complained to the canon, who in his obliging way wrote to the rival company to say that it, too, was welcome to use his name.

After the canon's death in

the early 1970s L'Héritier-Guyot brought a ready-mixed Kir for the US and UK markets, and then the rights started to fly. Lejay-Lagoute contested the canon's second letter, and after a lengthy wrangle that lasted until 1992 the courts finally upheld

"The name is marketing magic. Its three letters are pronounced the same way in all languages"

Lejay-Lagoute's exclusive right to the Kir trademark.

Now, however, Mr Damidot is not quite sure what to do with his victory. He has started producing a ready-made Kir, but admits that marketing it in competition with his own Creme de Cassis is "a delicate matter". He points out his company's main business is making concentrated liqueurs and that

to branch out into larger volume ready-made drinks would be beyond the physical capacity of Lejay-Lagoute's traditional factory in the centre of Dijon.

Restaurants, too, have proved resistant to buying ready-made Kir, preferring to mix their own and get a higher price mark-up.

In France there is the additional fiscal problem that Kir is taxed as a spirit, rather than as a wine. But ready-made Kir has the advantage that it can be made with less sugar than Creme de Cassis, which needs considerable sweetening to mask the vitamin C in blackcurrant and to give it some viscosity.

While L'Héritier-Guyot may have lost the Kir case, it won another, of wider import. Its attempts in the 1970s to find a wider market for its various Crèmes de Cassis brands, with 16-20 per cent of alcohol, ran up against a German claim

that no liqueur could be imported into Germany with an alcohol strength of less than 23 per cent. Judging this to be ridiculous, L'Héritier-Guyot took legal action. This ended in the European Court of Justice which, in its 1978 Cassis de Dijon ruling, said that, barring any special health or safety objection, a product fit for sale in one European member state could be sold in all other member states.

It was this principle of "mutual recognition" by countries of each other's product differences that proved a far quicker and more acceptable way of creating a European single market than old-style attempts at straight harmonisation. Mr Jean-Dominique Casseau, chief executive of L'Héritier-Guyot, says there was also something in it for his company. "We now have 80 per cent of the German market."

Andrew Jack looks at the attractions that the region offers

## Getting visitors to stay a little longer

From the vineyards of the Côte d'Or at its core to the historic towns and villages scattered throughout its varied landscape, Burgundy offers a variety of attractions for tourists: indoors and outdoors, urban and rural, gastronomic and cultural alike.

One of the principal attractions of the region is undoubtedly wine. Introduced to the cultivation of the grape by the Romans, the local people were able to take advantage of the favourable soil and climate and turn Burgundy into one of the most significant producers of high-quality wines.

Today, it produces some 40m gallons a year. Take the most cursory glance at a map of the area and the eye is quickly caught by the villages scattered throughout its varied landscape. In the area of taste, Mr Jean-Luc Le Quéré of Inra is not only using biotechnological ways of altering the flavours of food, but deeply involved in the analysis of consumers' preferences. Providing special computer software for this taste analysis is a Dijon company called Biosystems.

In the end, however, there is no substitute for the trained taster who can, according to Mr Gervais, detect "a one hundredth of a millionth of an aroma molecule". He and others in the Burgundy food industry quickly dispel any notion that they might be trying to create uniform "Euro-tastes", single flavours for the single market. Rather, they insist they are trying to increase the diversity of European gastronomy.

David Buchan

be less than inspiring. Accompanying good wine has naturally come the development of good food. The region offers many local specialities, including snails, coq au vin and boeuf bourguignon, often using regional wine and locally-produced ingredients such as mustard as part of the cuisine.

Inevitably, a good number of highly-rated restaurants have

Burgundy claims to be the most important boating region in France, with 1,200km of waterways

sprung up, including several endowed with one or more stars in the red Michelin guide - often outside the main urban centres and near the wine districts.

For those keen on history and culture, there are several larger centres in Burgundy such as Dijon itself, the regional capital with its cathedral, fine arts museum, ducal palace and medieval centre, as well as a concentration of hotels and restaurants which can make it a useful base for touring.

At the other extreme, off-season openings are rather more erratic. Planning can be well worth the effort, considering that the hospice in Nuits-Saint-Georges is open for just one weekend a year in March to sell its produce, for example. Equally, driving out of season through a landscape of gnarled vines before they have begun to turn green can

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## **WORLD STOCK MARKETS**

WORLD STOCK MARKETS																																							
EUROPE				FRANCE (Apr 7 / Frs.)							Greece (Apr 7 / Drachma)							Ireland (Apr 7 / Eire)							Netherlands (Apr 7 / Guilder)							Portugal (Apr 7 / Escudo)							
AUSTRIA (Apr 7 / Sch.)				AGF	172.90	+4.48	213.00	146	148	4.2	ING	465	-2,547.00	462.50	2.4	Ova	320	40	320	269.50	3.5	Socfin	466	-1	40	540	405	11	11	540	405	11	11	11	11	11	11		
Belgium				Accor	569	-1	555	521	470	5.0	Kellog	157	+10	182.00	185	2.5	Poly	52	+40	40	193.70	79.40	2.0	Socfin	566	+1	40	540	405	11	11	540	405	11	11	11	11	11	11
Braun				Arlacil	797	+9.14	808	705	2.6	Kellog	557	-10	808	824	2.3	Rodice	101.90	+10	111.88	95.50	2.8	Socfin	567	+1	40	540	405	11	11	540	405	11	11	11	11	11	11		
Credit				Arco	568	+10	2,073	1,201	1.0	Kellog	464.20	-30	507	495	2.9	Rodice	102.90	+10	111.88	95.50	2.8	Socfin	567	+1	40	540	405	11	11	540	405	11	11	11	11	11	11		
Dresdner				Arco	570	+10	2,073	1,201	1.0	Kellog	464.20	-30	507	495	2.9	Rodice	103.90	+10	111.88	95.50	2.8	Socfin	567	+1	40	540	405	11	11	540	405	11	11	11	11	11	11		
EA Gas				Arco	570	+10	2,073	1,201	1.0	Kellog	464.20	-30	507	495	2.9	Rodice	104.90	+10	111.88	95.50	2.8	Socfin	567	+1	40	540	405	11	11	540	405	11	11	11	11	11	11		
E.ON				Arco	570	+10	2,073	1,201	1.0	Kellog	464.20	-30	507	495	2.9	Rodice	105.90	+10	111.88	95.50	2.8	Socfin	567	+1	40	540	405	11	11	540	405	11	11	11	11	11	11		
Jenbacher				Arco	570	+10	2,073	1,201	1.0	Kellog	464.20	-30	507	495	2.9	Rodice	106.90	+10	111.88	95.50	2.8	Socfin	567	+1	40	540	405	11	11	540	405	11	11	11	11	11	11		
Lanxess				Arco	570	+10	2,073	1,201	1.0	Kellog	464.20	-30	507	495	2.9	Rodice	107.90	+10	111.88	95.50	2.8	Socfin	567	+1	40	540	405	11	11	540	405	11	11	11	11	11	11		
Lehman				Arco	570	+10	2,073	1,201	1.0	Kellog	464.20	-30	507	495	2.9	Rodice	108.90	+10	111.88	95.50	2.8	Socfin	567	+1	40	540	405	11	11	540	405	11	11	11	11	11	11		
Odebrecht				Arco	570	+10	2,073	1,201	1.0	Kellog	464.20	-30	507	495	2.9	Rodice	109.90	+10	111.88	95.50	2.8	Socfin	567	+1	40	540	405	11	11	540	405	11	11	11	11	11	11		
Rheinmetall				Arco	570	+10	2,073	1,201	1.0	Kellog	464.20	-30	507	495	2.9	Rodice	110.90	+10	111.88	95.50	2.8	Socfin	567	+1	40	540	405	11	11	540	405	11	11	11	11	11	11		
Umwelt				Arco	570	+10	2,073	1,201	1.0	Kellog	464.20	-30	507	495	2.9	Rodice	111.90	+10	111.88	95.50	2.8	Socfin	567	+1	40	540	405	11	11	540	405	11	11	11	11	11	11		
VA Tech				Arco	570	+10	2,073	1,201	1.0	Kellog	464.20	-30	507	495	2.9	Rodice	112.90	+10	111.88	95.50	2.8	Socfin	567	+1	40	540	405	11	11	540	405	11	11	11	11	11	11		
Vestas				Arco	570	+10	2,073	1,201	1.0	Kellog	464.20	-30	507	495	2.9	Rodice	113.90	+10	111.88	95.50	2.8	Socfin	567	+1	40	540	405	11	11	540	405	11	11	11	11	11	11		
Weser				Arco	570	+10	2,073	1,201	1.0	Kellog	464.20	-30	507	495	2.9	Rodice	114.90	+10	111.88	95.50	2.8	Socfin	567	+1	40	540	405	11	11	540	405	11	11	11	11	11	11		
BELGIUM/LUXEMBOURG (Apr 7 / Frs.)				Arco	570	+10	2,073	1,201	1.0	Kellog	464.20	-30	507	495	2.9	Rodice	115.90	+10	111.88	95.50	2.8	Socfin	567	+1	40	540	405	11	11	540	405	11	11	11	11	11	11		
Ackermans				Arco	570	+10	2,073	1,201	1.0	Kellog	464.20	-30	507	495	2.9	Rodice	116.90	+10	111.88	95.50	2.8	Socfin	567	+1	40	540	405	11	11	540	405	11	11	11	11	11	11		
Arbed				Arco	570	+10	2,073	1,201	1.0	Kellog	464.20	-30	507	495	2.9	Rodice	117.90	+10	111.88	95.50	2.8	Socfin	567	+1	40	540	405	11	11	540	405	11	11	11	11	11	11		
Ardex				Arco	570	+10	2,073	1,201	1.0	Kellog	464.20	-30	507	495	2.9	Rodice	118.90	+10	111.88	95.50	2.8	Socfin	567	+1	40	540	405	11	11	540	405	11	11	11	11	11	11		
Ardex				Arco	570	+10	2,073	1,201	1.0	Kellog	464.20	-30	507	495	2.9	Rodice	119.90	+10	111.88	95.50	2.8	Socfin	567	+1	40	540	405	11	11	540	405	11	11	11	11	11	11		
Bacardi				Arco	570	+10	2,073	1,201	1.0	Kellog	464.20	-30	507	495	2.9	Rodice	120.90	+10	111.88	95.50	2.																		

INDICES

	Apr 7	Apr 6	Apr 5	High	1995		
				Low			
Argentina							
General (29/12/77)	13753.28	13971.55	13840.88	18531.16	2/1		
Australia							
All Ordinaries(1/1/80)	1983.4	1900.3	1902.4	1983.40	7/4		
All Mining(1/1/80)	913.4	916.4	913.4	927.30	2/1		
Austria							
Credit Aliden(01/12/84)	357.79	356.81	364.64	355.42	2/1		
Traded Index(2/1/81)	958.33	954.05	948.41	1056.31	2/1		
Belgium							
BEL20 (1/1/91)	1363.24	1341.46	1325.57	1301.22	6/1		
Brazil							
Bovespa (29/12/83)	32030.0	32548.0	31604.0	43190.80	2/1		
Canada							
Metal Mktg(1/1973)	4222.43	4257.31	4217.82	4326.07	16/1		
Composite(1/1973)	4264.90	4284.40	4265.10	4319.48	30/3		
Portfolio 55(4/1/83)	2124.48	2129.05	2123.71	2142.81	24/3		
Chile							
PCA Geo (31/12/80)	5379.8	5376.7	5365.3	5518.21	17/1		
Denmark							
OopenhagenSE(3/1/83)	333.55	335.71	337.58	357.07	13/2		
Finland							
HEX General(28/12/90)	1653.1	1675.3	1661.4	1940.30	10/1		
France							
SBF 250 (31/12/90)	1246.05	1242.05	1231.40	1281.23	5/1		
CAC (40/31/12/87)	1900.36	1890.16	1872.92	1901.73	4/1		
Germany							
RAZ Aktien(31/12/88)	736.56	731.75	728.29	795.81	16/2		
Commerzbank(1/12/93)	2102.0	2088.1	2077.7	2268.00	19/2		
DAX (30/12/87)	1981.88	1973.27	1989.84	2136.04	15/2		
Greece							
Athens SE(31/12/80)	821.68	815.94	823.40	886.22	4/1		
Hong Kong							
Hang Seng(31/7/84)	8470.28	8418.10	8410.00	8827.93	28/3		
India							
BSE Senz(1978)	3472.06	3484.25	3439.94	3822.08	2/1		
Indonesia							
Jakarta Comp.(1/09/82)	426.93	430.05	428.55	481.22	6/1		
Ireland							
ISEO Overall(4/1/88)	1871.38	1865.01	1868.68	1902.27	10/2		
Italy							
Banca Comm Ital (1972)	595.94	595.56	595.18	680.54	10/2		
MBI General (2/1/95)	941.0	941.0	940.0	1074.00	10/2		
Japan							
Nikkei 225 (10/5/84)	15719.30	15815.87	15862.48	19723.05	2/1		
Nikkei 300 (7/10/82)	234.71	235.85	236.95	267.17	2/1		
<b>INDEX FUTURES</b>							
Open Sett.Price Change High Low Est. vol. Open Int							
<b>■ GAC-40 [2000 x Index]</b>							
Mar	1900.0	1912.0	+10.0	1916.0	1894.0	22,245	24,986
Apr	1899.5	1908.5	+10.0	1909.0	1898.5	693	9,986

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## CURRENCIES AND MONEY

## POUND SPOT FORWARD AGAINST THE POUND

	Apr 7	Closing mid-point	Change on day	Bid/offer spread	Day's Mid high	Day's Mid low	One month Rate	%PA	Three months Rate	%PA	One year Rate	%PA	Bank of England Index
Europe													
Austria	(Sch)	15.9163	-0.0044	689 - 700	15.8598	15.6299	15.5877	1.8	15.5598	1.8	-	-	106.0
Belgium	(BFR)	45.0021	+0.0001	272 - 281	45.0840	45.2170	45.5801	1.2	45.4501	1.4	44.9201	1.5	110.6
Denmark	(DKK)	6.7318	-0.0005	252 - 261	6.8749	6.8754	6.7374	0.8	6.7469	0.8	6.7311	0.0	97.3
Finland	(FM)	8.8337	-0.0247	280 - 284	6.9810	6.7885	-	-	-	-	-	-	97.3
France	(FF)	2.007	+0.0007	178 - 203	2.2270	2.1985	2.1739	-1.7	2.1739	-1.7	2.007	0.8	113.4
Germany	(DM)	2.2191	+0.0056	178 - 203	2.2270	2.1985	2.1739	-1.7	2.1739	-1.7	2.007	0.8	113.4
Greece	(Dr)	361.203	-0.0007	388 - 378	362.955	359.657	-	-	-	-	2.1657	2.4	68.0
Ireland	(IE)	1.2788	-0.0185	311 - 402	2762.69	2728.51	2743.57	-4.2	2764.42	-4.4	2947.77	-4.2	64.3
Italy	(I)	1.2788	-0.0185	311 - 402	2762.69	2728.51	2743.57	-4.2	2764.42	-4.4	2947.77	-4.2	64.3
Luxembourg	(LU)	1.2561	-0.0001	381 - 385	2.4844	2.4844	2.4805	1.7	2.4729	1.8	2.4279	2.3	110.5
Netherlands	(NL)	2.4841	-0.0054	812 - 814	2.4904	2.4944	2.4805	1.7	2.4729	1.8	2.4279	2.3	110.5
Norway	(NO)	9.8549	+0.0132	848 - 851	2.4904	2.4944	2.4805	1.7	2.4729	1.8	2.4279	2.3	110.5
Portugal	(PE)	284.324	+0.0059	553 - 561	254.4072	223.955	225.187	-3.3	225.577	-3.3	208.899	-2.8	97.0
Spain	(PE)	100.444	-2.593	194 - 195	202.108	193.620	198.954	-2.6	202.099	-2.6	205.098	-2.8	115.2
Sweden	(SE)	11.7899	-0.0054	868 - 870	11.9149	11.7289	11.9017	-0.2	11.8088	-0.2	11.8285	-0.2	76.5
Switzerland	(CHF)	1.8222	+0.0003	208 - 234	1.8289	1.8032	1.8175	3.1	1.8077	3.1	1.7636	3.8	115.2
UK	(G)	1.2068	-0.0013	680 - 675	1.2098	1.2004	1.2067	0.1	1.2089	0.0	1.2017	0.4	84.5
Ecu	(Ecu)	1.22800	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SPOT	(S)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Americas													
Argentina	(Peso)	1.9081	-0.0021	056 - 086	1.6122	1.6036	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brazil	(BRL)	1.4457	-0.0041	425 - 429	1.4492	1.4374	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Canada	(CA\$)	2.2567	+0.0113	347 - 368	2.2314	2.2274	2.2291	-1.8	2.2449	-1.8	2.2302	-2.4	31.2
Mexico (New Pesos)	(MXN)	1.0273	-0.0174	848 - 700	10.7393	10.1846	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
USA	(US\$)	1.0284	-0.0074	684 - 674	1.6780	1.6042	1.6057	0.1	1.6058	0.1	1.6058	0.1	83.8
Pacific/Middle East/Africa													
Australia	(A\$)	2.1574	-0.0028	681 - 687	2.1607	2.1589	2.1702	-1.5	2.1745	-1.3	2.1941	-1.2	79.0
Hong Kong	(HK\$)	12.4544	-0.0122	204 - 207	12.4724	12.4050	12.4237	0.1	12.4245	0.0	12.4175	0.1	-
India	(INR)	50.6410	-0.0759	410 - 422	50.8644	50.3620	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ireland	(IE)	5.0093	-0.0093	362 - 364	5.7477	5.7065	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Japan	(Y)	135.600	-0.0001	125 - 126	137.220	134.860	134.85	0.1	133.5	0.1	127.38	5.8	170.0
Malaysia	(MYR)	4.0092	-0.0037	044 - 045	4.0092	4.0092	4.0092	0.0	4.0092	0.0	4.0092	0.0	98.5
New Zealand	(NZD)	2.4221	-0.0198	195 - 245	2.4845	2.4193	2.428	-2.9	2.4889	-2.5	2.4527	-1.3	98.5
Philippines	(Peso)	41.8082	+0.0108	962 - 967	41.9011	41.7986	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Saudi Arabia	(SRD)	8.0264	-0.0059	245 - 283	8.0484	8.0167	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Singapore	(SGD)	5.7355	-0.0049	543 - 573	2.2634	2.2620	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South Africa	(ZAR)	5.7355	-0.0049	543 - 571	2.2634	2.2620	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South Korea	(Won)	1238.11	-5.37	584 - 585	11.71	10.7563	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Taiwan	(TWD)	41.2568	-0.0092	275 - 324	41.7050	41.2568	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Thailand	(THB)	38.9851	-0.0057	862 - 877	38.9900	38.4240	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

1995 rates per £ for Apr 8. Bid/offer spreads in the Pound Spot table show only the last three decimal places. Forward rates are not directly quoted to the market and therefore are subject to change. Sterling rates indicated by the Bank of England. Bank average 1990 = 100. Index released 1/4/95. Bid, Offer and Mid rates in both the Pound Spot table derived from THE WALL STREET JOURNAL CLOSING SPOT RATES. Some values are rounded by the FT.

## DOLLAR SPOT FORWARD AGAINST THE DOLLAR

	Apr 7	Closing mid-point	Change on day	Bid/offer spread	Day's Mid high	Day's Mid low	One month Rate	%PA	Three months Rate	%PA	One year Rate	%PA	J.P. Morgan Index
Europe													
Austria	(Sch)	9.7013	-0.0044	269 - 270	9.6598	15.4299	15.4299	1.8	15.5598	1.8	-	-	106.0
Belgium	(BFR)	45.0021	+0.0001	292 - 293	45.0840	45.2170	45.5801	1.2	45.4501	1.4	44.9201	1.5	110.6
Denmark	(DKK)	6.7318	-0.0005	252 - 253	6.8749	6.8754	6.7374	-0.8	6.7469	-0.8	6.7311	0.0	97.3
Finland	(FM)	8.8337	-0.0247	280 - 284	6.9810	6.7885	-	-	-	-	-	-	97.3
France	(FF)	2.007	+0.0007	178 - 203	2.2270	2.1985	2.1739	-1.7	2.1739	-1.7	2.007	0.8	113.4
Germany	(DM)	2.2191	+0.0056	178 - 203	2.2270	2.1985	2.1739	-1.7	2.1739	-1.7	2.007	0.8	113.4
Greece	(Dr)	3.0123	-0.0007	178 - 192	3.0123	1.9042	1.9057	0.1	1.9058	0.1	1.6562	0.7	86.0
Ireland	(IE)	1.2788	-0.0185	311 - 402	2762.69	2728.51	2743.57	-4.2	2764.42	-4.4	2947.77	-4.2	64.3
Italy	(I)	1.2788	-0.0185	311 - 402	2762.69	2728.51	2743.57	-4.2	2764.42	-4.4	2947.77	-4.2	64.3
Luxembourg	(LU)	1.2561	-0.0001	204 - 205	12.4724	12.4050	12.4237	0.1	12.4245	0.0	12.4175	0.1	-
Netherlands	(NL)	50.6410	-0.0759	410 - 422	50.8644	50.3620	-	-	-	-</td			



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